00037557

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRA

00037557

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

37557
ac

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED

By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

PART SECOND, AND LAST.

VOL. V.

London:

PRINTED BY D. N. SHURY, BERWICK STREET, SOHO,

AND SOLD BY T. CADELL, JUN. AND

W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1802.

PRELIMINARY NOTE

TO THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

Annals of the French Revolution.

WHEN I publiſhed the four firſt volumes of theſe Annals, I did not think it neceſſary to declare that I ſhould continue the Work in the ſame manner; as the papers and documents requiſite for finiſhing it were in France, and I knew not when it would be poſſible for me to procure them. The Private Memoirs, which I publiſhed in the year 1797, might ſo far ſupply the place of them, as they contained events and anecdotes that occurred during the laſt year of the reign of *Louis* XVI.; but the progreſs of the Revolution, its moſt remarkable events, and facts eſſential to the Hiſtory of it, not being related, the period of time with which I am acquainted, not only as a witneſs, but an actor, is that of which I have given the leaſt account, while I

have publiſhed a minute and regular hiſtory of the portion of which I was only a ſpectator. This appearance of inconſiſtency the peace has enabled me to remove much ſooner than I flattered myſelf would be the caſe. I took immediate advantage of the re-eſtabliſhment of the communication between France and England, to collect all the materials I wanted to render the Second Part of the Annals of the Revolution as complete as the Firſt. I have carefully avoided repeating what I have already publiſhed, ſome facts excepted, ſo connected with the events in this part, and ſo ſhort, that I thought it a pity to ſeparate them; but I have in general, and frequently, referred the Reader to the Private Memoirs for the principal facts they contain; and the dates of them, which are not there attended to, will be here found preciſely fixed in the different pages where thoſe references occur.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIFTH VOLUME.

Page

Preliminary Note - - - v

CHAPTER I.

The degraded State of the Royal Authority at the Opening of the Second Aſſembly—M. Thevenard reſigns the Office of Miniſter of the Marine—M. Bertrand appointed his Succeſſor—Proceedings at the firſt Sittings of the Legiſlative Body—

Page

Inſulting Debates reſpecting the Manner of addreſſing and receiving the King—His Majeſty's Conduct on the Occaſion—He goes to the Aſſembly—His Reception and Speech—The Preſident's Anſwer—Some of the Deputies roughly treated by the National Guards—The Aſſembly call on the Miniſters for Information reſpecting the State of the Kingdom—Clamour againſt them—Character of Lequinio—Tumult in the Aſſembly—General Character of its Members—Plan for taking Advantage of the Diſguſt created by them—Proclamation addreſſed to the Emigrants—Letters to the Officers of the Army and Navy—Vain Endeavour to prevent Emigration—The Particulars of M. de la Fayette's Reſignation of the Command of the Pariſian National Guard - - - - - 1

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Aſſembly—Appointment of Committees—Committees of Inquiry ſuppreſſed—Meaſures againſt Emigration—Letter from the King to the Princes on that Subject—Debates upon the ſame—Briſſot's

Page

Briſſot's violent Speech and Motion—Condorcet's—Decrees and Proclamation reſpecting MONSIEUR, the King's Brother—Meaſures againſt the Prieſts—The Abbé Fauchet's Speech and Motion reſpecting them—The Abbé Torné—Denunciations againſt the Miniſters—M. du Portail accuſed and cited before the Aſſembly—State of the Navy given by M. Bertrand — Diſpoſition of the foreign Powers towards France ſtated by M. Montmorin — The State of France two Months after the Completion of the Conſtitution—Rebellion in St. Domingo—Debates upon it—The Buſineſs referred to the Committees—Decree againſt the Emigrants - - - - 31

CHAPTER III.

Change in the Miniſtry—A fine Edition of the Conſtitution preſented to the Aſſembly by a Bookſeller—Letter from the Municipality of Caen—Their Proceedings againſt ſome Gentlemen and their Servants for attending Maſs performed by a Nonjuring Prieſt—Iſnard's Speech on that Occaſion

Page.

—The King refuſes his Sanction to the Decree againſt the Emigrants—Meaſures taken by the King reſpecting them—Denunciation of Varnier, the occaſion of the firſt Supreme National Court being ordered—Identification of the Perſons uſed to expedite Trials—Barbarous Proceeding in the Aſſembly againſt the Prieſts —Petion choſen to ſucceed M. Bailly as Mayor of Paris—M. de Leſſart confirmed Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, and ſucceeded in the Department of the Interior by M. Cahier de Gerville - 73

CHAPTER IV.

The King determines to refuſe his Sanction to the Decree againſt the Prieſts—Expedients of the Jacobins to intimidate him to give it—Addreſs from the Directory of the Loir and the Cher—The King, in going out of his Apartments, ſtopped by a Centinel—A Letter from Profeſſor Delatre to M. de Calonne, and another from M. de Querlonde to the Mayor of Thionville denounced — A Deputation from the Markets to the Aſſembly—Diſcuſſion

Page

cuſſion of Meaſures to be taken againſt the Germanic Confederacy — Iſnard's Speech—Vaublanc's Speech to the King—His Majeſty determines to form the Conſtitutional Guard—M. de Leſſart denounced by the Abbé Fauchet—Letter from the Empreſs of Ruſſia to Mareſchal Broglio—Politics of the Cabinet of Vienna reſpecting a War—The Declaration of the Emperor of Germany to the Courts of Europe - - - - 110

CHAPTER V.

Briſſot's Venality—His Speech on the State of St. Domingo on the breaking out of the Rebellion—Proceedings in the Aſſembly relative to that Iſland—Remarkable Speech, expoſing the general Conduct of the Aſſembly—Addreſs from the Conſtitutional Society of London read—M. Bertrand denounced—Petition from the Directory of the Department of Paris to the King for his VETO to the Decree againſt the Prieſts — Petitions and Denunciations againſt the Directory — The King goes to the Aſſembly—His Speech relative to the Emigrants and Foreign

Page.

Powers—The Preſident's brief and unmeaning Reply—M. de Narbonne announces his Majeſty's Orders for aſſembling an Army on the Frontiers—Addreſs to the King on his Meaſures—M. de Narbonné increaſes his Popularity at the Expence of the other Miniſters—He obtains a Supply of Twenty Millions—The Miniſters in general endeavour to gain Popularity, by following the Steps of M. de Narbonne - - - - 144

CHAPTER VI.

The King refuſes his Sanction to the Decree againſt the Prieſts—Change of Ambaſſadors and Miniſters Plenipotentiary at various Courts—M. Bertrand makes his Report relative to St. Domingo—Meſſage from Tippoo Saib—Interference of the Emperor in Favour of the German Princes, who had Poſſeſſions in Alſace and Loraine—The Jacobin Party endeavour to provoke a War—Quarrel between the Jacobin and Feuillans Clubs—Debate reſpecting War—Famous Declaration on this Subject—Supplies granted unanimouſly—M. Ber-

Page

—M. Bertrand denounced by two Storekeepers ſent from India for Mal-practices —Report of Cavelier's Denunciation—Interference of the Emperor in favour of the Elector of Treves—The King's Letter to the Aſſembly on this Occaſion—The Aſſembly diſmiſs the Adminiſtrators of the Department of Paris, without receiving their Compliments on the New Year—Thoſe annual Compliments aboliſhed—The Swiſs Soldiers of the Regiment of Chateauvieux who had been condemned to the Gallies, ſet at liberty—Impeachment of the King's Brothers and the Prince of Condé decreed—M. Bertrand refutes the Denunciation reported againſt him, and alſo that of the two Storekeepers—Affair of the Garriſon of Perpignan—Commotions on the Frontiers, and throughout the Kingdom—Pacific Declaration of the Elector of Treves - - - - 188

CHAPTER VII.

Report of the Marine Committee reſpecting M. Bertrand poſtponed—Report of the Diplomatic Committee on Prince Kaunitz'

Page

nitz' official Note—Guadet's violent Motions in Conſequence—Satisfactory Diſpatches received by M. de Leſſart from Coblentz—His prudent Advice on the Occaſion—Briſſot's Speech for immediate War—The Abbé Fauchet's Speech on the Subject—Iſnard's—Queſtion reſpecting the completing of the Army—M. de Narbonne's Speech—The Mode adopted by the Aſſembly—Decree relative to the official Note from Prince Kaunitz—Manœuvres of the Marine Committee againſt M. Bertrand - - - - 244

CHAPTER VIII.

Dreadful State of France—Affecting Inſtance of the King's Unhappineſs—The Law of Paſſports revived—Rumour of his Majeſty's intending to eſcape from Paris—His Conduct on the Occaſion—Account of an Impoſture relative to it—Proofs of the old Gardes-du-Corps receiving no Pay at Coblentz—The King's Anſwer to the Aſſembly relative to the laſt official Note from the Cabinet of Vienna—Officers of the Corps to be added to the Service of the Capital preſented to the

Page

the Aſſembly—Report reſpecting Military Rewards—Reſolutions of one of the Sections of Paris giving up the Uſe of Sugar and Coffee—The Diſcuſſion of the Report againſt M. Bertrand unexpectedly brought on—Uproar in the Aſſembly on ſome Expreſſions uſed in the Debate—M. Quatre-Mere's Speech in Defence of M. Bertrand—The Iſſue of this Buſineſs—Dominion of the Galleries over this Aſſembly—Tumult in the Aſſembly reſpecting a Report on Petitions—Diſorder and Anarchy throughout the Kingdom - 284

CHAPTER IX.

Object of the Plan purſued by the Aſſembly—Decline of M. de Narbonne's Popularity—Obſervations reſpecting M. Cahier de Gerville—The Aſſembly determine that their Committees are legally impowered to correſpond with the Bodies of Adminiſtration of all the Departments—Diſpute relative to the Ceremony of the King's receiving the Commiſſioners for the Sanction—Motions againſt the Miniſters—The King's Letter to the Aſſembly reſpecting the Diſpute of the Commiſſioners—

Page

ſioners—Decree of the Aſſembly on the Occaſion—Condorcet's diſreſpectful Letter to the King—Advice of the Miniſters upon it—M. Bertrand adviſes differently —Copy of a Letter propoſed by him for his Majeſty—Bazire's inſulting Speech reſpecting M. de Narbonne—Rumours of the King's Intention to eſcape revived—Alarming Ferments in the Fauxbourgs—M. Cahier de Gerville's Letter on the Subject to the Directory of the Department of Paris—Deputation from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine to the Aſſembly—Their ſeditious Harangue—The Aſſembly counteract all the King's Meaſures—His Majeſty's Letter to the Municipality on the Rumours of his intending to eſcape—Oath propoſed for the King's Conſtitutional Guard—The Formation of their Majeſty's Houſehold diſcuſſed by the Miniſters—State of the Country—Obſervations on M. Cahier de Gerville's Report - - - - 312

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

Page

The Aſſembly reſolve to ruin the Miniſters—Debate on the Mode of determining their Reſponſibility—Herault de Sechelles' Speech on that Subject—Cavelier's Report againſt M. Bertrand ſurreptitiouſly introduced—Step taken by M. Bertrand to fruſtrate this Treachery—Decree relative to the Correſpondence of the Miniſters with the Aſſembly—M. Cahier de Gerville's Defence againſt the Charge of Inactivity—Attempt to form a Conſtitutional Coalition, and to ſecure a Neutrality in the Galleries of the Hall—The Members of the propoſed Coalition apply for the Uſe of the Hall when vacant—Violent Oppoſition of the Jacobins—Reſolutions of the Miniſtry relative to the Coalition—The whole Plan fruſtrated by M. de Narbonne's Imprudence—The Generals Rochambeau, La Fayette, and Luckner, called to Paris by M. de Narbonne—Their Interview with the King—Letters from the three Generals to M. de Narbonne—Conſequence of theſe Letters being publiſhed - - - 353

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Country — Maſſacre of the Mayor of Etampes—The Diſorder attributed to the Treachery of the Miniſtry —Deputations from the Poiſſardes and Workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine —Official Note from the Cabinet of Vienna, dated February 17, communicated to the Aſſembly by M. de Leſſart, together with a private Letter from himſelf to M. de Noailles—M. de Leſſart ſtates the Emperor's Forces, and the King's Anſwer to the official Note—Conſequence of theſe Communications — Low Ebb of M. de Narbonne's Popularity—His Humiliation in the Aſſembly — The Council reſolve not to act with him any more—M. Bertrand's Reſignation—The King diſmiſſes M. de Narbonne—The Faction exaſperated—Briſſot accuſes M. de Leſſart—The Articles of Impeachment againſt him moved by Briſſot—Another Article propoſed by Vergniaux—The Decree for Impeachment paſſed—Arrival of the News of the Death of the Emperor Leopold—M. de Leſſart's Letter to the Preſident of the

Page
the Aſſembly on ſurrendering himſelf—
He is ſent to Orleans - - - 386

NOTE A,

Relative to M. Bertrand's Appointment in the Miniſtry - - - - 417

NOTE B,

Relative to the Baron Breteuil - - 424

ANNALS

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

The degraded State of the Royal Authority at the opening of the Second Aſſembly—M. Thevenard reſigns the Office of Miniſter of the Marine—M. Bertrand appointed his Succeſſor—Proceedings at the firſt Sittings of the Legiſlative Body—Inſulting Debates reſpecting the Manner of addreſſing and receiving the King—His Majeſty's Conduct on the Occaſion—He goes to the Aſſembly—His Reception, and Speech—The Preſident's Anſwer—ſome of the Deputies roughly treated by

the National Guards—The Aſſembly call on the Miniſters for Information reſpecting the State of the Kingdom—Clamour againſt them—Character of Lequinio—Tumult in the Aſſembly—General Character of its Members—Plot for taking Advantage of the Diſguſt created by them—Proclamation addreſſed to the Emigrants—Letters to the Officers of the Army and Navy—Vain Endeavour to prevent Emigration—The Particulars of M. de la Fayette's Reſignation of the Command of the Pariſian National Guard.

THE King, reduced to the alternative of accepting the new Conſtitution without being permitted to make any obſervation upon it, or to propoſe any reſtriction whatever, or of abdicating the Crown, had, by a conſent thus forced, purchaſed, not indeed his liberty, but, the diſcontinuance of the humiliating rigors and external marks of his bondage, the direction of his civil liſt, and the empty title of King unaccompanied with power. By the Revolution all patriotiſm was completely compriſed in the hatred of royalty and

and its adherents, and Republicaniſm was become the ſole object of popularity.

The King, conſtituted Head of the Executive Power, and in that capacity the firſt Magiſtrate, was in fact the only Magiſtrate that had not at his command ſome power, ſome means or other of enforcing obedience. In appearance, the Departments and Municipalities were ſubordinate to him. He had the right of ſetting aſide their proceedings when they were contrary to Decrees, or to his Orders; but then there was a power veſted in the Legiſlative Body of annulling his acts in caſes of this kind; ſo that the only act of authority the King was permitted to exerciſe, ſerved but to prove how much he was degraded. Such was the ſtate of things at the opening of the Second Aſſembly, which was compoſed of deputies, whoſe elections had, almoſt every where, been directed by the Jacobin Clubs.

The powers given to this Aſſembly had been fixed and limited by the Conſtitutional Act, but ſo feebly that their vague and uncertain limits might ſoon and eaſily have been overleaped. There was in reality no other check than the general obligation impoſed upon the King, to employ all the power with

which he was entruſted to enforce the execution of the Conſtitution. Did that obligation empower him to prevent the breaches which the Legiſlative Body might aſſume the right of making? Several letters and memorials were addreſſed to his Majeſty on this occaſion, to convince him that it did; but it is unfortunately infinitely more eaſy to give good counſels and propoſe good plans, than to find the talents and qualities neceſſary for carrying them into execution: there lies the great difficulty. The ableſt men are often embarraſſed by it; but ignorance, always preſumptuous, either does not perceive it or makes light of it. An open violation of the Conſtitutional Act committed by the Legiſlative Body, would no doubt have afforded a very favourable opportunity for reſtoring the Royal Authority; but in order to take advantage of that opportunity, it would have been requiſite, not only that the King ſhould have poſſeſſed great energy of character, but that he ſhould have been ſupported by a Council entirely compoſed of faithful, able, and intrepid Miniſters, men capable of braving undauntedly every danger to ſave the King and the State: at that time, however, there remained in France very few of thoſe who poſſeſs

poſſeſs the qualities with which I ſtill think it would have been poſſible to curb, or to diſſolve the Second Aſſembly.

It was in theſe circumſtances that *M. Thevenard* reſigned the office of Miniſter of the Marine, which was again by the King's deſire propoſed to me in ſuch a manner as not to leave me at liberty to refuſe it*. I was appointed on the 1ſt of October, and immediately had an interview with the King, in which he unequivocally declared his reſolution to abide ſtrictly by his oath of maintaining the Conſtitution, and expreſſed his deſire that the Miniſters ſhould act conformably. The Queen, whom I ſaw the ſame day, aſſured me of her ſentiments being ſimilar to the King's, adding; "Come, "*M. Bertrand*, let us take courage; let "us be patient, firm, and conſiſtent, and I "hope all is not yet loſt†."

The firſt ſittings of the Legiſlative Body were occupied by the Deputies taking their ſeats, verifying their powers, and nominating the Preſident and other Officers of the

* See note A. at the end of this Volume.

† The particulars of this intereſting interview will be found more at large in my Private Mémoirs. See Vol. i. page 214.

Aſſembly. The oath of maintaining the Conſtitution was taken with great ſolemnity, but not ſo ſincerely as that of *living free or dying*; juſt as if this imaginary liberty, defended by more than two millions of National Guards, had really been in danger*. This oath, at that time ſo ſtupid in its literal ſenſe, was originally conſecrated by the Jacobins, and adopted by all the brigands in the kingdom, whom the Revolution had raiſed to the dignity of Patriots. It was ſometimes the rallying cry againſt Royalty, ſometimes the ſignal of ſome new enormity. The Aſſembly, not ſatisfied with taking it once, which they did in the very Second Sitting, repeated it two days after with the ſame enthuſiaſm and amidſt the ſhouts of the galleries. They loſt no time in manifeſting that they underſtood it in the ſame ſenſe that the Jacobins did. In the following ſitting (October 5th), they had the effrontery to debate, whether it were conſiſtent with the dignity of the Repreſent-

*At the period of the Federation in 1790 the National Guards amounted to 2,100,000 according to the account taken by order of the King, and in which ſome of the diſtricts of Normandy and Provence could not be included, their National Guard not being then formed.

atives

atives of a free people to addreſs the King with the expreſſions *Sire* and *your Majeſty*,—to wait till the King was ſeated and had put on his hat before they ſat down and put on their hats,—to give him a chair embroidered with gold inſtead of a black one like the Preſident's; and after the moſt indecent diſcuſſions, they decreed, That at the moment of the King's entering the Hall, all the Members ſhould ſtand up with their hats off, but might ſit and put on their hats when he had advanced to the table; that at the table and on the ſame line there ſhould be two chairs perfectly alike, and that the King ſhould take the one to the left of the Preſident; that in the Aſſembly, and in Deputations which might be ſent to the King, the Preſident, and every Member of the Aſſembly appointed to addreſs the King, ſhould give him no other title than that of King of the French.

This debate raiſed a general indignation againſt the Aſſembly; for it was ſtill deſired that the royal dignity ſhould be reſpected, and it gave great offence that the new Legiſlators ſhould attempt to degrade it by inſolent pretenſions, which the former Aſſembly had never preſumed to advance. It was generally wiſhed that the King ſhould take

vigorous meaſures on this occaſion. The buſineſs was diſcuſſed the ſame day in the council. His Majeſty found in the Conſtitution a means of avoiding the humiliation intended for him by the Aſſembly, and preferred it to energetic meaſures, which never accorded with his feelings. The Conſtitution gave the King a right to open the Seſſions of the Legiſlative Body, but did not impoſe it as an obligation; and it mentioned no caſe or circumſtance whatever, in which the King was bound to appear perſonally in the Aſſembly; it was therefore determined that he ſhould not go to open the Seſſions.

The Miniſters made no ſecret of this determination, and it was known the next day throughout the town. The Aſſembly then became ſenſible of the error they had committed, and felt how much they had diſcredited and degraded themſelves in the public opinion, which juſtified the reſolution the King had taken, not to honor them with his preſence. The firſt motion made in the next Sitting was, to revoke the Decree paſſed the day before, and the revocation was decreed by a great majority, after a warm debate; in the courſe of which ſome groſs

inſults were offered to the Preſident by ſeveral frantic Jacobins, who were anxious for the confirmation of the decree.

The cauſe which had determined the King not to open this Seſſions being removed, his Majeſty, attended by his Miniſters, went to the Aſſembly on the 7th of October at one o'clock. As he entered, the Hall reſounded with acclamations and clapping. Not ſatisfied with crying, *Vive le Roi!* there were, for the firſt time, general and repeated ſhouts of, *Vive ſa Majeſté!* in a manner ſo marked that it was impoſſible not to gueſs the cauſe of it. The King, advancing to the table, delivered the following Speech in a firm voice, and ſtanding. The Aſſembly alſo continued ſtanding.

" Gentlemen! Aſſembled by virtue of the " Conſtitution, in order to exerciſe the " power which it has delegated to you, no " doubt you will deem it one of your firſt " duties to facilitate the progreſs of the Go- " vernment; to encreaſe, if poſſible, the ſecu- " rity of the engagements of the Nation; " and to enſure at the ſame timeli berty and " peace, in order to attach the People to " their new laws by a ſenſe of their happi- " neſs. Having witneſſed in your depart-

" ments

" ments the firſt effects of the new order
" eſtabliſhed, you have had it in your
" power to judge what may be neceſſary to
" render it complete; and it will be eaſy for
" you to fall upon the propereſt means to
" give the adminiſtration the force and activ-
" vity which it needs. On my part, I am
" called upon by the Conſtitution, as repre-
" ſenting the nation, to examine, for its in-
" tereſt, the laws to be preſented for my
" ſanction, which I am bound to ſee exe-
" cuted; it is alſo my duty to propoſe to
" you ſuch objects as I think neceſſary to
" be taken into conſideration in the courſe
" of your Seſſions.

" You are aware, Gentlemen, that it be-
" hoves you without delay to fix your atten-
" tion on the ſituation of the finances, to
" comprehend them in their extent, and to
" acquaint yourſelves with their details
" and regulations. You muſt be ſenſible
" of the great importance of ſecuring a con-
" ſtant equilibrium between the receipts and
" the expences, of accelerating the aſſeſſ-
" ment and levy of the contributions, of
" eſtabliſhing an invariable order through-
" out this vaſt department of adminiſtration,
" and thus laying the foundation for reliev-
" ing the State and comforting the People.

" The

" The municipal laws ſeem alſo to require " your particular attention. You will have to " regulate them according to the principles " of the Conſtitution: you will have to " ſimplify legal proceedings, in order to " render the means of obtaining juſtice more " eaſy and prompt. You will ſee the ne- " ceſſity of laying ſolid foundations for " public ſpirit by a national education: " you will encourage commerce and in- " duſtry, the progreſs of which has ſo " much influence on the agriculture, and on " the riches of the kingdom: and you will " think of making permanent regulations " for ſupplying the indigent with work and " aſſiſtance.

" I ſhall make known to the army my firm " intention of re-eſtabliſhing order and " diſcipline throughout it. I will neglect no " means of reviving confidence among the " various ranks that compoſe it, and of " placing it on a footing for the defence of " the Kingdom. If the laws ſhould prove " inſufficient for the purpoſe, I will pro- " poſe to you ſuch meaſures as ſhall appear " to me adequate, that you may paſs them " into laws.

" I ſhall

" I ſhall alſo pay attention to the Navy,—
" that important branch of the public force,
" formed to protect our Commerce and our
" Colonies.

" I hope we ſhall not be diſturbed by any
" foreign aggreſſion. Since my acceptance
" of the Conſtitution, I have taken ſuch
" ſteps as appeared to me the propereſt to
" ſettle the opinion of the Powers abroad
" with reſpect to us, and to maintain with
" them that harmony and good underſtand-
" ing which muſt enſure us peace. From
" this I expect the beſt effects, but the hope
" ſhall not divert me from purſuing with
" activity the precautionary meaſures which
" prudence cannot but have preſcribed.

" Gentlemen, in order that your import-
" ant labours, and your zeal may produce
" all the good that is to be expected from
" them, it is neceſſary that a conſtant har-
" mony and unalterable confidence ſhould
" reign between the Legiſlative Body and
" the King: the enemies of our peace will
" be but too ſolicitous to diſunite us; but
" let the love of our country bind us
" together, and the public weal render us
" inſeparable. Thus ſhall the public power
" be diſplayed without impediment, the

" adminiſtration

" adminiſtration unmoleſted with vain fears;
" the property and credit of every perſon
" be equally protected; and no pretext be
" left for any one to live out of a
" Country where the laws are maintained
" in vigour, and the rights of all reſpected.
" On this great baſis of order depend he
" ſtability of the Conſtitution, the ſucceſs
" of your labours, the ſafety of the Empire,
" and the return of every kind of proſperity.
" To this end, Gentlemen, ſhould all your
" thoughts be now directed; this is the
" object for which I call moſt ſtrenuouſly on
" your zeal, and on your love for your
" Country."

This ſpeech was frequently interrupted by clapping and ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* The Preſident (*Paſtoret*) made the following anſwer.

" Sire! your appearance among us is a
" new engagement entered into by you with
" your Country. The rights of the Nation
" had been forgotten, and all the Powers
" jumbled: a Conſtitution is formed, and
" with it French Liberty revived. As a
" Citizen, it is your part to cheriſh it; as
" King, it is your part to maintain and de-
" fend it. Far from ſhaking your authori-
" ty, it confirms it, and has given you

friends

" friends in all who were formerly called
" your ſubjects. Sire! you ſaid ſome days
" ſince in this Temple of our Country, that
" it was neceſſary to you to be loved by the
" French; it is alſo neceſſary to us to be
" loved by you *. The Conſtitution has
" made you the firſt Monarch in the World;
" your love of it places your Majeſty in the
" rank of the moſt beloved of Kings, and
" by the happineſs of the Nation yours will
" be encreaſed. Strengthened by our union,
" we ſhall ſpeedily experience the ſalutary
" influence of it: to purify the laws, to en-
" courage public credit, to complete the
" ſuppreſſion of anarchy, is our duty, is our
" reſolve, is yours, Sire, and the bleſſings
" of the French will be the reward."

The King's departure from the Hall was attended with acclamations ſimilar to thoſe with which he had been ſaluted at his entrance. His Majeſty was no ſooner gone, than the Aſſembly, ſeeing the ſucceſs and applauſe which the Preſident's reply had obtained, immediately declared that that reply faithfully expreſſed the ſentiments of the Legiſlative Body. They had received ſome

* At theſe words the Preſident was interrupted by the clapping of the Aſſembly and of the Galleries.

rough

rough leſſons in the morning on the neceſſity of changing their tone; ſeveral Deputies had been violently inſulted and threatened in the very Hall of the Aſſembly, before the opening of the Sitting, by ſome Officers of the National Guard. One of them ſaid to the Deputy *Goupilleau*; "The title of Majeſty "belongs to the King alone, and not to the "People; you are but agents paid for your "trouble; if you perſiſt in your principles "you will be cut to pieces." Another, grinding his teeth at the Deputy *Maillet*, told him that they had bayonets for thoſe who ſhould dare to propoſe Decrees like that which had juſt been revoked. A third ſaid to the Deputy *Coulhon*; "You are a pack "of dirty fellows, who only bring diſcord "here, but be aſſured we ſhall not loſe ſight "of you." One of the Officers being denounced appeared at the Bar, and without denying any of the expreſſions with which he was charged, added to them, that hearing the Conſtitution ſpoken of in terms that made him angry, he had ſaid, that if any one attacked the Conſtitution, he would be the firſt to denounce him and the firſt to be his executioner.

It was preſumed from theſe circumſtances that

that there was much leſs ſincerity than prudence in the Aſſembly's approbation of the ſentiments expreſſed by their Preſident.

The Legiſlative Body, yeilding to a deſire, as eager as inconſiderate, of enjoying all the rights beſtowed upon them by the Conſtitution, loſt no time in exerciſing that of calling upon the Miniſters to furniſh them with information, and decreed vaguely that they ſhould attend and lay before them the ſituation internal and external of the kingdom. On the 8th of October, the day appointed by the decree, we aſſembled at the Chancellor's, and proceeded to the Aſſembly. Upon our entering, the debate was broken off, and the Preſident called on the Miniſter of Juſtice to ſpeak. M. *Du Port Du Tertre* promiſed in the name of his Colleagues a continuance of their zeal and their efforts to reſtore order and invigorate the execution of the laws. With reſpect to the internal and external ſituation of the Kingdom, he obſerved, that if the Aſſembly required of us a complete view, it was impoſſible we could have prepared it in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time; but that we had collected materials for a general ſtatement from our reſpective departments, and that it was our intention to form from

from thoſe a body of obſervations, which we would preſent from time to time to the Aſſembly. Several members deſired that we ſhould fix a time to be granted us for delivering in our ſtatements; others obſtinately inſiſted on their being given immediately. From ſeveral parts of the Hall ſome angry voices repeated, *that it was very aſtoniſhing that the Miniſter ſhould come now to aſk for time.* To this clamour the Miniſter of Juſtice replied, that although it required time to draw up a general ſtatement methodically, that was not the caſe with reſpect to any particular information which the Aſſembly might think neceſſary, to enable them to proceed to buſineſs; and that we were ready to give it immediately. I inſtantly objected to this as far as it concerned myſelf. I obſerved that having been but a week in office, it would be eaſier for me to ſtate general ideas than give any detail reſpecting my department. "You are right; "you are right," was echoed in every part of the Hall. This approbation, however, did not prevent the murmurs againſt the Miniſters from becoming more and more clamorous. Amidſt the tumult a petty

Mayor * of the ſmalleſt Municipality of Brittany aſcended the tribune, and took upon

* *Lequinio*, Mayor of the little town of Rhuis, in the department of Morbihan. This man, before the Revolution, was a low officious fellow, of a knaviſh diſpoſition, and he ſoon became one of its worthieſt inſtruments, that is to ſay, one of the moſt atrocious villains. In 1786 he had ſucceeded in obtaining from the States of Brittany under the denomination of a loan, carrying no intereſt, the ſum of 12,000 livres, which he was to lay out in a plantation of 12,000 Mulberry trees. He was to repay the principal in twelve years, by inſtalments of 1000 livres a year. This loan could not be made without the King's approbation, and the refuſal of it depended entirely upon me: Nor did I obtain it for him but upon the moſt ſolemn promiſe of ſtrictly complying with the two conditions annexed to it by the States. He received the 12,000 livres, which was conſiderably more than his whole fortune, and, thanks to the Revolution, he has neither repaid any part of it, nor planted the mulberry trees. He was ſucceſſively a Member of the Second Aſſembly and of the Convention, he publiſhed a vile paper which he intitled, *Journal des Laboureurs*, *The Huſbandman's Journal*, and which was only remarkable for the groſs invectives laviſhed in it on the Miniſters, and particularly on myſelf. Under *Robeſpierre* he gave up the buſineſs of journaliſt for that of aſſaſſin. He carried a piſtol in his hand into a priſon crowded with Noblemen and prieſts, ſhot the firſt of thoſe unfortunate men who ventured to make ſome complaint to him, and openly boaſted the energy of this act of patriotiſm, in the account he gave of it to the Convention, who were ferocious enough to applaud it.

himſelf

himſelf to utter the moſt inſolent declamation againſt the Miniſters. This wretch, whoſe revolutionary patriotiſm was ſignalized by plunder and aſſaſſination under the reign of *Robeſpierre*, was in the ſtates of Brittany, far more obſequious than any of his colleagues to the King's Commiſſioners. Having ſeen him there in the years 1784 and 1786; having rewarded him for his good will, and relieved his penury by a charitable donation of 500 livres, what was my ſurpriſe when I heard this very man, who had been but two days arrived from the remoteſt corner of Morbihan, and who was ſcarcely acquainted with the names of the Miniſters, ſpeak in the following impudent manner? "I wiſh there were an end of two "ways of being honeſt and of ſpeaking the "truth; I wiſh that Miniſters would "always explain themſelves with frank-"neſs, preciſion, and candour; and that a "Miniſter could be an honeſt man and frank "in the ſame way that a ſimple citizen is; but "the happy time is arrived when we muſt, "and when we can, accuſtom Miniſters to "know what they are, and the people to "feel their own conſequence." This impertinence was highly applauded by the

Aſſembly; the Miniſters were repeatedly called upon, and the murmurs againſt them redoubled. It was required that M. *de Montmorin* ſhould make known the intentions and diſpoſitions of all the foreign Powers; and that M. *Duportail* ſhould explain why the National Guards, who were marching to the frontiers, had not all received their arms; and why the national troops were not yet organized. "Give your ſtatements," was again and again repeated by ſome brawlers; "give at leaſt ſome "information *by notion.*"—"I confeſs," ſaid M. *Duport Du Tertre*, with great temper, "that I know not how to reply to the de- "mand of information *by notion*, becauſe "I do not underſtand it, but as to the "demand of a general ſtatement, I have "already repreſented that it will require "about three weeks to draw it up." In ſhort, after more than a quarter of an hour's contention, ſo noiſy that the Preſident's bell could ſcarcely be heard, it was decreed that we ſhould all give in a general ſtatement on the 1ſt of November. This done, the Preſident thought proper to break up the Sitting, which it was contended he had not the right of doing: he was called to order, and the tumult was

was renewed; nor did the Preſident dare to put on his hat, as the day before, on a ſimilar occaſion, he had been ſaluted with the cries of "Off hat—are you deaf, Mr. Preſident?" At that moment we left the Hall, and were followed by moſt of the Deputies, by which the Preſident was relieved from his embarraſſment.

From the tone of this Aſſembly, it was eaſy to perceive, that it was chiefly compoſed of the moſt violent Revolutionary ſpirits in the kingdom; and indeed it could not be otherwiſe, from the temper of the Country at the time of the elections, and particularly conſidering the form of conducting them. It was pretty accurately computed that the ſum total of the income of all the Deputies did not amount to 500,000 livres. The claſs of men poſſeſſing property throughout the kingdom being thus wretchedly repreſented, could not but ſuppoſe that their intereſts would always be ſacrificed. The Monarchy was in much greater danger; for there was not a ſingle true Royaliſt in this Aſſembly: it was entirely made up of Conſtitutionaliſts and Republicans, and between theſe two parties the ſame heat, the ſame exaſperation that divided the *Coté droit* and *Coté gauche*

in the firſt Aſſembly was very early perceived. In this Aſſembly the Conſtitutionaliſts had changed ſides but not principles, and it was in that party, who had annihilated the royal power, that the King was reduced to ſeek for ſupporters of the Conſtitutional Royalty, againſt the enterpriſes of the Republican party, and againſt the audacity of a popular Legiſlative Aſſembly inveſted with abſolute power, whoſe deliberations were public, and who acknowledged no power ſuperior to themſelves, except that of the people in rebellion.

This circumſtance, however, afforded a favourable opportunity which it was poſſible to have turned to great advantage. The inſolence of the new Deputies, and the diſorder and groſs indecency of their firſt Sittings, diſguſted the Citizens of every claſs. It would only have been neceſſary ſkilfully to keep up this diſguſt, and for this purpoſe to have watched for all the infringements of the Conſtitution, in which the ignorance and impetuoſity of the Aſſembly could not fail to involve them; to cauſe the ſlighter ones to be noticed by confidential Journaliſts; and openly to oppoſe the more weighty by ſtrong remonſtrances and meſſages. At the ſame time every

every poſſible means ſhould have been employed to augment the popularity of the King. The moſt effectual and moſt uſeful ſtep at that moment would have been to recall the Emigrants. Their return, which was generally deſired, would have revived in France the Royaliſt party, which the emigration had totally broken up. This party gaining ſtrength from the diſguſt againſt the Aſſembly, and increaſed by the many deſerters from the Conſtitutional party, and by all the malecontents, would ſoon have become ſufficiently powerful to render the exploſion, that was ſooner or later to be expected, deciſive in favor of the King.

M. *de Montmorin*, to whom I imparted my opinion, fully approved it, and confirmed me the more in it, by ſhowing me in his ſecret correſpondence with foreign courts, the moſt poſitive proofs that ſince the acceptance of the Conſtitution, the principal powers of Europe had given up every idea of arming againſt France, and that the Emigrants, whoſe hopes were ſtill kept alive by vague or conditional promiſes, would receive no ſuccours that could enable them to undertake any thing. We therefore decided on this plan. As all that could be done at the

moment was to iſſue a proclamation addreſſed to the Emigrants, and to ſend a letter from the King to the Officers; and as the other Miniſters appeared to us not only convinced of the neceſſity for theſe ſteps, but determined on propoſing them themſelves, we thought it was uſeleſs, and might be imprudent, to come to a fuller explanation with them. The next day M. *De Leſſart* read in the Council the draft of a proclamation addreſſed to the Emigrants, which was adopted after ſome trivial alterations; and the King directed M. *Du Portail* and me to write a letter of ſimilar import, which his Majeſty propoſed to addreſs to the Officers of the Army and Navy. M. *De Leſſart* repreſenting that if his Majeſty would determine to write a letter with his own hand to the Princes, his brothers, inviting them to return, it would have great weight in removing all doubt of his ſincerity; the King replied; "Such a letter might, I believe, have "good effect here, but it would have none "with my brothers; becauſe they are convin-"ced I am not free, and that all I do is from "compulſion; but I will ſend them my "advice through a medium that will impress "them with more confidence."

The

The King's proclamation with reſpect to the Emigrants, and the two letters on the ſame ſubject addreſſed by his Majeſty to the commanding officers at the ports, and to the general officers of the army, were inſerted in all the public papers *. There were ſome who found fault with the lofty tone of that written by M. *Du Portail*, and who thought his ſtyle much too conſtitutional. This meaſure however was much applauded, and was of ſervice to the King, and alſo to the Miniſters and the public.

The King's ſentiments and wiſhes expreſſed in the proclamation and in the letters to the officers were really ſincere. There cannot be a greater proof of it than the private recommendation given by his Majeſty to each of us, to uſe every poſſible means in our reſpective departments to prevent emigration. We did what we could, but unfortunately with more zeal than ſucceſs. I completely failed with M. *Hector*, the commanding officer of the navy at Breſt. He came to Paris with the deſign of going on to Coblentz. As ſoon as I was informed of his arrival and intention, I mentioned the circumſtance to the King, who,

* See Appendix No I.

foreſeeing

foreſeeing the influence which his example would have throughout the navy, from the great eſteem in which he was held, directed me to tell him that his Majeſty expected, from his loyalty and attachment, that he would not leave the kingdom. M. *De la Porte*, the Intendant of the civil liſt, and formerly Intendant of Breſt, being intimately connected with M. *Hector*, undertook to engage him to ſee me, and to inform him that I had ſomething to ſay to him from the King. He evaded promiſing without refuſing to come to me, but the apprehenſion of being detained by ſuch poſitive orders as he could not diſobey prevented him from coming to ſee me, and he ſet out for Coblentz. At this period M. *de la Fayette*, true to the reſolution he had declared, reſigned to the Municipality the appointment of commander in chief of the Pariſian national guard. His plain and ſimple reſignation encloſed to the Municipal Body would have been quite enough, but he no doubt thought it more uſeful to ſet ſo great an example of patriotic diſintereſtedneſs in a brilliant light. On the 8th of October, in the evening, he went to the general Council of the Commune, where he delivered a ſpeech, in which he lavished

laviſhed compliments and praiſes on his hearers, on all the Repreſentatives of the Capital ſince the Revolution, and particularly on the electors of 1789 to whom he owed his appointment. He ſaid, among other things, " That he had always looked for-" ward to the period when the conſti-" tuted powers ſhould be all in full exerciſe, " as that which was to put an end to *the* " *functions created by the Revolution and* " *accepted for it*; that he ſhould however " have given them up with regret, had not " the orginization of the national guard been " advanced to the point where the duties " of the commander in chief ceaſe, where " the preparatory operations that depended " upon him were over," &c. &c. M. *Bailly*, in his reply to M. *De la Fayette* repaid him his compliments and praiſes with intereſt, and added profound regret on his retiring. " We loſe," ſaid he, " our " friend and our General, but our hope is " buoyed up by the knowledge of your " talents: you will be called to offices for " which thoſe talents will point you out. " You are very ſure we ſhall never forget *the* " *hero of the two worlds*, who has taken ſo " great a part in the Revolution: and you too,

" Sir,

" Sir, will remember the city of Paris and
" the worthy electors of 1789, and the pro-
" viſionary Municipalities, and the whole
" Commune, whom you have ſerved with
" zeal;" &c. &c.

On the ſame day M. *de la Fayette* took his leave of the national guards by a long letter which was inſerted in all the public papers. This laſt act of the Generalſhip of *the hero of the two worlds*, is a diſguſting mixture of ſenſible advice and revolutionary pathos, which it is hardly poſſible to read with patience: the nature of it may be ſeen in the firſt and laſt ſentence, the only ones I ſhall cite *.

" Juſt as the *conſtituent* National Aſſem-
" bly has laid down its powers, and the
" functions of its members are at an end,
" I alſo am at the concluſion of the engage-
" ments into which I entered, when placed
" by the wiſhes of the nation at the head
" of the citizens who were the firſt to de-
" vote themſelves *to the recovery and pre-*
" *ſervation of liberty.* I promiſed the

* Whoever has the curioſity to read the whole of this letter will find it in the Moniteur of October 14th, No. 284, and in all the public papers of the time, &c.

" capital,

" capital, which gave the happy ſignal for
" it, there to keep the ſacred ſtandard of
" the revolution raiſed, which the public
" opinion had confided to me."

" Gentlemen, in laying down the com-
" mand at this painful moment of our
" ſeparation, my heart, penetrated with
" the profoundeſt ſenſibility, acknowledges
" more than ever the immenſe obligations
" which bind it to you. Accept the wiſhes
" of the moſt affectionate of friends for the
" general proſperity, and for the individual
" happineſs of every one of you; and may
" the remembrance of him frequently ariſe
" in your minds, and particularly mix with
" the oath which unites us all, to live free,
" or to die!"

On the 11th of October, every company of the ſixty battalions compoſing the National Guard, deputed one of its members to the Hotel-de-Ville, in order to take M. *de la Fayette*'s letter into conſideration, and ſettle the anſwer to be given to it. At this meeting it was reſolved, 1ſt, That an anſwer ſhould be returned, expreſſing to the General the army's affection and regret: 2dly, That as an acknowledgement *for his wiſe and honourable conduct in the com-*

mand

mand ſince the Revolution, he ſhould be preſented with a ſword with a gold hilt, on which there ſhould be engraved the following inſcription: *To La Fayette, from the grateful Pariſian Army, the 3d year of Liberty:* 3dly, That a petition ſhould be preſented to the National Aſſembly, praying them to take into conſideration the ſacrifices of every kind that had been made by M. *de la Fayette*, and to grant him a compenſation for them.

The enthuſiaſm and love ſtill in reality preſerved by M. *de la Fayette* for the Revolution, the Conſtitution, the National Guard, &c. &c. were very worthy of all theſe rewards.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Aſſembly—Appointment of Committees—Committees of Inquiry ſuppreſſed—Meaſures againſt Emigration—Letter from the King to the Princes on that Subject—Debates upon the ſame—Briſſot's violent Speech and Motion—Condorcet's Decrees and Proclamation reſpecting MONSIEUR, *the King's Brother—Meaſures againſt the Prieſts—The Abbé Fauchet's Speech and Motion reſpecting them—The Abbé Torné—Denunciations againſt the Miniſters—M. Du Portail accuſed and cited before the Aſſembly—State of the Navy given by M. Bertrand—Diſpoſition of the foreign Powers towards France ſtated by M. Montmorin—*

Montmorin—The State of France two Months after the Completion of the Conſtitution—Rebellion in St. Domingo—Debates upon it—The Buſineſs referred to the Committees—Decree againſt the Emigrants.

THE New Aſſembly, principally compoſed of people without education, choſen from the moſt inflammatory and moſt impudent Jacobin Clubs in the kingdom, was very far from preſenting that reſpectable appearance, that air of decorum and of dignity which ſhould ever accompany an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of a great nation. The moſt auguſt office of ſovereignty, that which requires the greateſt quiet and reflection, the Legiſlative Power, was exerciſed amidſt diſorder, the groſſeſt clamours, and moſt obſtreperous tumults. Often in the courſe of a ſitting, a croud of ſpeakers were ſeen ruſhing to the tribune, ſpeaking all at once, or rather, roaring with the whole force of their lungs twenty different motions, without giving the Aſſembly time to deliberate on one. If the Preſident called them to order, he was called to order himſelf. They deſired to be heard in order to ſpeak againſt him,

him; they accuſed, they inſulted him: in vain did he labour, toſs his bell, and put on his hat; thoſe modes of reſtoring order and ſilence were worn out, and had no effect; they but ſerved to increaſe the noiſe of the bawling; in a word, the National Aſſembly bore a perfect reſemblance to a mob of rioters. Theſe ſcandalous ſcenes could not fail to complete the contempt into which it had already fallen. The Aſſembly felt the neceſſity of ſurmounting this by a body of rules, and this principally occupied them for the firſt fortnight of the month of October. They deliberated at the ſame time on the organization of different committees to which buſineſs ſhould be referred, and by whom it was to be prepared before it was ſubmitted to the Aſſembly*. It was on this occaſion obſerved, that *the Revolution being inconteſtably finiſhed, Committees of*

* The reſtleſs and turbulent temper diſcovered by this Aſſembly was a ſufficient caution to the Miniſters to keep themſelves upon their guard, to ſtudy the Conſtitution thoroughly, and to conform themſelves to it with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs; for, unfortunately, it was the only arms with which they could oppoſe the attacks they had to expect. Some of them having more than once been brought into very ſerious dilemmas by their

of Enquiry were become abſolutely uſeleſs. The Aſſembly decreed in conſequence, that there ſhould be none eſtabliſhed, and the Municipality ſuppreſſed that of the Hotel-de-Ville.

Honeſt men gained nothing by the ſuppreſſion of the Committees of Inquiry: it was no longer by a ſecret Committee, compoſed of fifteen or twenty perſons, but by the whole body of the Aſſembly, that an inquiſition the moſt odious, and perſecutions the moſt unjuſt, were exerciſed and encouraged. There was ſcarcely a ſitting in which the tribune did not reſound with abſurd and ſcandalous denunciations, always unaccompanied with proof, againſt the Prieſts who had not taken the Conſtitutional Oath. They were ſhamefully accuſed of all the troubles that were cauſed in the kingdom by the perſecutions excited againſt them. Emigration was alſo the ſubject of the moſt

correſpondence and communications with the Committees of the Firſt Aſſembly, it had been expreſsly agreed and determined, with the King's approbation, that they ſhould always correſpond directly with the Legiſlative Body, and that they ſhould have nothing to do with the Committees, with which, by the Conſtitution, they had no connexion whatever.

violent

violent declamations. The Firſt Aſſembly had ſolemnly declared that it was impoſſible that any prohibitory law in this reſpect could be compatible with the principles of the Conſtitution, the rights of man, &c. &c. It had confined itſelf to ſubjecting the eſtates of emigrants to a treble aſſeſſment, and to declaring all public officers ſuperſeded, who, being out of the kingdom, did not return by a certain time. The New Aſſembly was then in too great diſcredit to venture upon adopting more vigorous meaſures before the public was prepared for them; a care which the Jacobin Clubs and Revolutionary Writers took upon themſelves. Their daily papers and pamphlets were filled with declamations againſt emigration, chiefly directed againſt the Public Officers, the Military, and above all the Princes. It was ſaid, "that the laſt "were not Citizens of the common claſs, "or ordinary emigrants; that their emigra- "tion was a plot againſt the country, againſt "liberty, and againſt the rights of man; "that they had brought on emigration by "their example; that they upheld it, and "were increaſing it every day by invita- "tions and promiſes; that they were de- "ſirous of a counter-revolution, and were

" organizing a civil war; and that they " were the real and grand culprits at whom " it was neceſſary to ſtrike." Such, in fact, was the plan of the leading members of the *Coté-Gauche* of the Aſſembly; that is to ſay, of the Republican Party. We were poſitively informed of it beforehand. M. *Duport du Tertre* and M. *de Leſſart*, having conſulted upon it with the principal members of the Conſtitutional Party, thought with them, that the only means of defeating the project of the Jacobins was, that the King ſhould write a very preſſing letter to the Princes, to prevail upon them to return to France; and they again propoſed it to his Majeſty on the day in which the motion againſt emigration was made in conſequence of a letter from the Miniſter of War, containing the ſtatement which had been required of him reſpecting the Commiſſions that had been vacant in the army, ſince the firſt of Auguſt preceding the time fixed for filling them up*.

* It appeared from this ſtatement that the number of vacancies in the infantry and in the cavalry amounted to 1932, and that 764 had been filled up; conſequently there remained 1200 commiſſions to be diſpoſed of: " On the ſuppoſition, however," ſaid M. *du Portail*, " that

The debate on the meaſures to be taken againſt emigration was poſtponed till the 20th of October, and M. *Duport du Tertre* and M. *de Leſſart* flattered themſelves that it would be dropped altogether, if the King would conſent to write the letter they propoſed; in which hope his Majeſty complied, and wrote to the Princes as follows:

"Paris, October 16th, 1791.

"I ſhould have thought that my conduct "towards you, and my acceptance of the "Conſtitution, would ſuffice, without any "farther ſtep on my part, to make you determine on returning to the kingdom, or at "leaſt on relinquiſhing the projects you "ſeem to have in view.

"Your conduct ſince that time giving "me reaſon to believe that my real intentions are not clearly known to you, I "think I owe it to you and to myſelf to "aſſure you of them with my own hand.

"When I accepted the New Conſtitution "of the Kingdom without any modification, I was chiefly induced by the wiſh

"that the reſignations, or rather deſertions, ſtop; of "which there can be no great hope, there having been "more in the laſt fortnight than in the preceding one."

" of the nation and the deſire of peace: I
" thought it time that there ſhould be an
" end to the troubles of France, and be-
" lieving that it was in my power to con-
" cur in effecting it by my acceptance of
" the Conſtitution, I did not heſitate to
" accept it freely and willingly, and my re-
" ſolution is unalterable. If the new laws
" require any changes, I ſhall wait till
" time and reflection call for them; but I
" am determined neither to urge nor ſuffer
" any by means inconſiſtent with the public
" tranquillity and the Conſtitution I have
" accepted.

" I think that the motives that have de-
" termined me ſhould have a like influence
" over you; I therefore call upon you to
" follow my example. If, as I do not
" doubt, the happineſs and tranquillity of
" France are dear to you, you will loſe no
" time in aſſiſting by your conduct to reſtore
" them. By putting an end to the appre-
" henſions which agitate the public, you
" will contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of
" order, you will ſecure an advantage in
" favour of wiſe and moderate opinions,
" and you will render effectual ſervice to
" the public good, to which your abſence,

" and

" and the projects you are ſuſpected of,
" cannot but be prejudicial.

" I will take care that every Frenchman
" returning into the kingdom ſhall peace-
" ably enjoy in it the rights given him by
" Law. They who wiſh to prove their
" attachment to me will not heſitate. I
" ſhall conſider your ſerious attention to
" what I communicate to you as a great
" proof of attachment to your brother and
" fidelity to your King; and I ſhall be
" thankful to you my whole life for having
" ſpared me the neceſſity of acting in oppo-
" ſition to you, in conſequence of the firm
" reſolution I have taken to maintain what
" I have declared. Signed, LOUIS."

It was not intended that this letter ſhould remain a ſecret: we ſpoke much of it, ſeveral copies were diſtributed, and it was even inſerted in ſome public papers; but it did not produce the effect which the Conſtitutionaliſts expected from it.

The debate on the meaſures to be taken againſt emigration was opened in the Sitting of the 20th. *Briſſot*, who was remarkable for his inconcluſive reaſoning, as well as for his audacity among the Speakers who took the lead on this queſtion, divided

the emigrants into three claſſes. In the firſt were the King's two brothers; in the ſecond, the public officers who had deſerted their poſts; and in the third, the ſimple citizens, who, either from hatred of the Revolution, or from fear, had been weak enough to ſuffer themſelves to be led away. "You owe," ſaid he, "hatred and puniſhment to the two firſt claſſes, pity and indulgence to the third. The liberty of emigrating muſt be permitted to the citizens. Man receives from Nature the right of turning his ſteps, and carrying his induſtry and wealth wherever he pleaſes. He no doubt owes a portion of theſe to ſociety in return for its protection; but when he no longer needs that protection, ſociety ceaſes to have any right over his fortune; ſo that, if you wiſh to put an end to emigration, it is not on the third claſs you muſt let fall your blows, nor muſt you let fall the moſt violent on the ſecond claſs, who might ſay to you, 'By what right do you puniſh us? Have you then two ſorts of weights and meaſures? You puniſh us and ſpare our leaders.' This is a double crime, injuſtice and cowardice. Who does not know

" know that a Noble cannot ſtay in France
" without being diſhonoured on the other
" ſide of the Rhine? The Patriots have
" been continually amuſed with laws re-
" ſpecting emigration, which were mere
" palliatives. Do you wiſh to put an end
" to this rebellion? It is not by extending
" laws againſt the emigrants that you will do
" it; it is by treating the leaders ſeverely;
" it is on the other ſide of the Rhine you
" muſt ſtrike, and not in France. By ſuch
" vigorous meaſures it was that the Engliſh
" prevented *James* II. from obſtructing the
" eſtabliſhment of their liberty. They did
" not amuſe themſelves in making petty
" laws againſt emigration; they ordered
" foreign Powers to drive the Engliſh
" Princes from their States. The haughty
" *Louis* XIV. was forced himſelf to expel
" his near relation; and *James* II. living
" on the ſlender and ſecret charity of France,
" was incapable of raiſing a party. The
" Firſt Aſſembly had felt the neceſſity of
" this meaſure, but had applied it only to
" M. *Condé*, which was a great fault.
" *Mirabeau* was heard in a moment of
" frankneſs to ſay, 'that ſuch a law would
' never be executed, for no one perſecutes
' his

'his own family.' The King of a free "people has no family, or rather, the na-"tion which has truſted him with its in-"tereſts, is his firſt family. In ſhort, a law "againſt the leaders is poſſible, whereas "one againſt ſimple citizens is attended "with many inconveniences that render "its execution impracticable. It is ſaid "that they may be reſtrained for the ſake "of their own happineſs: an artful ſo-"phiſm, but eaſily refuted;" &c.

The moſt rigorous meaſures againſt the Princes, and others leſs ſevere againſt public officers, were the natural conſequence of this ſpeech; and *Briſſot* moved, That MONSIEUR, the Count *D'Artois*, and the Prince *de Condé*, ſhould be declared to have forfeited their contingent rights to the Crown, and to all eſtabliſhment: 2dly, That all payments made to them ſhould be conſidered as treaſon againſt the country; and that if they or their adherents ſhould ſeduce and draw over to them French citizens, or ſtir up the foreign Powers againſt France, they ſhould be proſecuted criminally before the National Supreme Court: 3dly, That all public officers who ſhould not return into the kingdom in the courſe of one month ſhould forfeit

forfeit their titles, places, eſtabliſhments, and rights of active citizen. It was not to be expected that in this plan of a Decree there ſhould be any penalties againſt ſimple citizens, whom *Briſſot* had placed in the third claſs of emigration, or that they ſhould be even prohibited from emigrating. He moved, however, to confirm the decree of the Firſt Aſſembly, which ſubjected their property to a treble aſſeſſment if they did not return in a month, and to prohibit their going out of the kingdom without a paſſport from their Municipality, or from the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs.

This inconſiſtency was expoſed with great ability by M. *Ramond* and M. *Dumas*, who were zealous Conſtitutionaliſts, yet Royaliſts alſo, and who deſerved, from their honeſty and talents to be reckoned among the very few eſtimable members of this Aſſembly. *M. Dumas* proved to a demonſtration that the only meaſures compatible with the Conſtitution in reſpect of the emigrants were, to order that thoſe officers, of whatever rank they were, who had given in their reſignation, ſhould be ſtruck off the liſt; and to declare that every commiſſioned officer, warrant officer, or ſoldier, who ſhould have quitted his poſt without leave, ſhould

ſhould be deemed a deſerter, and tried by a Court Martial.

Condorcet, the academician and Revolutionary philoſopher, who was much leſs ſkilful in the management of his tongue than of his pen, made a ſpeech on this queſtion, which inſtantly ranked him with the moſt indifferent orators, and his plan for a decree proved him to be no better a logician. The three firſt articles required, for the preſervation of all the rights of French citizens, even in caſe of abſence, only the taking of the Civil Oath before the Municipality; or the declaration of thoſe who were abſent before the Conſul or Envoy of France, *that they conſidered the Conſtitution as originating from a legitimate power, and that they would ſubmit to it*, under penalty for the latter, of being conſidered as foreigners, and as ſuch deprived of all right to their offices and emoluments, their penſions excepted. The fourth article enacted, that all emigrant citizens who, not having taken the Civic Oath, ſhould ſubſcribe at the French Conſul's an engagement not to enter into the ſervice of any foreign Power for the ſpace of two years, never to bear arms againſt France, and not to ſolicit any

any ſuccours from foreign Powers againſt her, ſhould be conſidered as foreigners, and their property protected as that which foreigners poſſeſſed in France. It was enacted by the fifth and laſt article, that every citizen who ſhould not have taken the Civic Oath, or ſubſcribed the above declaration, or who ſhould have broken his engagement, ſhould be conſidered as an enemy of the country, that his eſtates ſhould be ſequeſtered, to be reſtored to him in caſe of an amneſty, or given to his heirs after his death; and that in the mean time his family ſhould be ſupported, and his children educated out of it. This article was abſolutely incompatible with that which enacted no other penalty againſt the abſent than the deprivation of their offices and emoluments, if they did not take the Civic Oath, or ſubſcribe the declarations of ſubmitting to the Conſtitution before the Conſul of France. But the celebrity of *Condorcet*'s talents, and his patriotiſm, were too dazzling to allow any one to expoſe this inconſiſtency. It was, no doubt, regarded as one of thoſe metaphyſical abſtractions ſo familiar to our modern Legiſlators. *Condorcet*'s ſpeech was highly applauded; and the Aſſembly ordered

ordered it to be printed, an honour that was of little ſervice to the author's credit.

Sixty ſpeakers had had their names inſerted on the liſt to ſpeak on this queſtion; but before twenty of them were heard, the Aſſembly, wearied with the length of the ſpeeches and plans of decrees, put an end to a debate, the tedioufneſs of which, one of the Members wittily obſerved, would drive the Legiſlative Body itſelf to emigrate.

Condorcet's plan drawn up anew, and extended to twelve articles, was put to the vote; but the Aſſembly negatived it by a great majority, and charged the Committee of Legiſlation to preſent another. In the mean time they adopted (Oct. 31ſt), the following forms as decrees, and a proclamation concerning MONSIEUR, the King's brother.

1ſt Decree. The National Aſſembly, conſidering that the preſumptive heir of the Crown is under age, and that *Louis Staniſlas Xavier*, the neareſt relation of age in ſucceſſion to the Regency, is out of the Kingdom, by virtue of the 2d article of the 3d ſection of the French Conſtitution, decree, that *Louis Staniſlas Xavier*, French Prince, is

is called upon to return to the kingdom within the ſpace of two months, to be computed from the day of publiſhing the proclamation of the Legiſlative Body in the city of Paris, the place of their preſent Sitting; and if *Louis Staniſlas Xavier*, French Prince, ſhall not have returned into the Kingdom at the period above fixed, he ſhall be judged to have abdicated his right to the Regency, according to the 2d article of the Conſtitutional Act.

2d Decree. The National Aſſembly decree that, by virtue of the decree of 28th of this month, the proclamation of the following tenor ſhall be printed and publiſhed three days running in the city of Paris, and that the Executive Power ſhall cauſe an account to be given within the three following days of the meaſures taken for carrying the preſent decree into execution.

THE PROCLAMATION was as follows: *Louis Stanislas Xavier*, French Prince, the National Aſſembly calls upon you, by virtue of the French Conſtitution, title 3d, chapter 2d, ſection 3d, number 2, to return into the Kingdom within two months from this day: in default of which at the expiration of the ſaid time, you will be judged to

to have abdicated your contingent right to the Crown.

With the diſcuſſion of the plan for a decree againſt the Emigrants, the Aſſembly conſidered of the meaſures to be taken againſt the Prieſts who had refuſed to take the New Oath; and to whom were imputed, without a ray of proof, the troubles which then exiſted in almoſt all the Provinces. The famous Abbé *Fauchet*, the Conſtitutional Biſhop of Calvados, made a moſt violent ſpeech againſt them. "Why," cried he, "ſhould we nouriſh a horde of "Canons, who have never done any thing "uſeful, and who, when they might have "ſerved the nation, proved its moſt implacable enemies? It is ſaid their conſcience "has not allowed them to take the Oath of "Fidelity to the Law. What a conſcience "is that, which carries them to the moſt "criminal exceſſes againſt public liberty! "Is a ſtipend proper for ſuch a conſcience? "Why are we to pay theſe unknown churchmen, who are remarkable for nothing "but their hatred to the Conſtitution? "They have encouraged the emigration. 'Go,' ſaid they to a haughty nobility, 'go and exhauſt abroad the treaſures of 'the

‘ the State; go, and conſult a plan of ‘ attack, while we at home ſet the King-‘ dom into commotion, divide families, ‘ and open rivers of blood.’ If men “ holding this language are called *Miniſters* “ *of the Church*, they are no Miniſters of “ yours; and if Hell could have Miniſters “ upon earth, it is with the ſpirit of Hell “ they would be animated. Have you more “ furious enemies againſt the liberty of France “ and the liberation of the human race?”

He concluded this atrocious harangue with moving the plan of a decree, declaring that Eccleſiaſtics who ſhould refuſe to take the Oath of Fidelity to the Law of the State, and to appear within a fortnight to obtain employment, ſhould be deemed to have forfeited all penſions and eſtabliſhments. By the other proviſions of this plan, thoſe who ſhould have obtained employment before the month of January following, were to be reduced to the half of their penſions, and thoſe who ſhould not obtain employment till after that period, to a third.

The galleries clapped this ſpeech, and clamoured for its being printed, which was ordered, in ſpite of the murmurs excited in the *Coté-droit* by the propoſal, and in ſpite

of the animated remonſtrances of the worthy Deputy *Quatremere*, who inſiſted that *the Aſſembly ſhould not diſgrace themſelves by ordering ſo calumnious a ſpeech, and a plan ſo intolerant, to be printed.* But honour, juſtice, and truth were but empty words to the majority of the Aſſembly. The Abbé *Fauchet* was refuted with great ability in the following Sitting by one of his colleagues, who, as well as himſelf, had been formerly one of the King's preachers, and was then a Conſtitutional Biſhop, the Abbé *Torné*, biſhop of the department of the Loir and Cher. He was an apoſtate as well as the Abbé *Fauchet*; nor was he more religious, but he was leſs vicious. The one was a headſtrong villain, whom the revolutionary fanaticiſm rendered capable of every crime; the other was one of thoſe philoſophers of the day who have no principles, but are not entirely devoid of ſentiments of juſtice and humanity, and whom ambition for the prelacy had drawn into the Revolution.

Theſe different debates were frequently interrupted by denunciations againſt the Miniſters. However abſurd they might be, they were always attended to, and referred

to

to a Committee. Whoever dared to oppoſe them was immediately reputed *Miniſterial*, and marked out as ſuch for the animadverſions of the populace. M. *du Portail* was the Miniſter then perſecuted with the greateſt inveteracy. He was accuſed of not having ſupplied the garriſon-towns on the frontiers with ſufficient and proper artillery neceſſary for their defence, of neglecting to arm and clothe the National Guards, of ſending them to the places where they were to do duty armed with ſticks, *of endangering their precious exiſtence by making them march in bad weather*, and without regulating their march and their quarters by tranſmitting orders and advice to the places where they were to halt, ſo that ſometimes they were reduced to eat hot bread, and ſometimes they got none of any kind, &c. On theſe ridiculous complaints, deſtitute of proof, the moſt violent ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche* were of opinion, that the Aſſembly, without any further inquiry, and without hearing M. *du Portail*, ſhould declare that he

* *Miniſterial* (devoted to the Miniſters) is a denomination that was adopted by the Jacobins to ſucceed that of *Ariſtocrat*, which was worn out, and only conſidered an inſignificant nick-name.

had loſt the confidence of the nation. "In "vain," ſaid they, "will you call the "Miniſter before you; he will have time "to prepare his anſwers, he will accoſt you "with round periods and fine pretences; "we ſhall think ourſelves obliged to believe "him, and we ſhall applaud him. It is "demonſtrated that he has not done his "duty; he ought to be puniſhed, and very "ſeverely." However, after a long debate it was determined that M. *du Portail* ſhould appear the next day in the Aſſembly to give a report on the ſtate of the Frontiers, on that of the National Guards, their arms, accoutrements, &c.; and that before the hour appointed for the appearance of the Miniſter, the Committee ſhould alſo make a report on the charges brought, or to be brought againſt him, and the queſtions that it would be proper to put to him, which ſhould be put by the Preſident.

The Miniſters, fearing that the anger excited in M. *du Portail* by this indecent proceeding, might injure his juſtification, all accompanied him to the Aſſembly, not only in order to give more weight and ſolemnity to his defence by appearing in ſome manner to make it a common cauſe, but to convince

convince the *Anti-Miniſterialiſts* that their partial attacks, far from diſturbing the union which reigned among us, and in which lay all the ſtrength of the Miniſters, only conſolidated it the more.

As ſoon as we had taken our places in the Aſſembly, ſeveral members roſe to inform the Preſident that the firſt thing to be done was, that the Miniſter of War ſhould give the report required of him by the decree of the day before. M. *du Portail* obſerved, that he had made that report a fortnight ago, and had nothing to add to it; that that report was conformable to the accounts which he had received on the ſituation of the kingdom, and that he would read an extract he had made of it. This extract would have proved too clearly the injuſtice of the reproaches caſt on M. *du Portail*: the Aſſembly did not chuſe it ſhould be read, and determined that the Miniſter ſhould be heard upon the different queſtions propoſed by the military committee.

The magiſterial tone, and the form given by the Preſident to thoſe queſtions, being more adapted to the examination of culprits before a criminal court than to the information which the Conſtitution authoriſed the

Aſſembly to demand of the Miniſters, who made the obſervations loud enough to be heard by a great many of the deputies. The Miniſter of Juſtice deſired permiſſion to ſpeak, in order to remonſtrate againſt this indecency, but the Aſſembly refuſed it, although they had no right to do ſo by the Conſtitution. The Preſident however took our reſentment into conſideration, and gave his queſtions a more decent turn. M. *du Portail* anſwered them all in the moſt ſatisfactory manner; but having done this, forgetting the dignity of his character, he unfortunately yielded to an emotion of anger which tranſported him beyond all bounds. "I ſaw," ſaid he, "in the "public papers, that ſome members of the "Aſſembly aſſerted that I ſhould appear "with anſwers prepared. No; I am not pre-"pared: yet at this moment I challenge all "among you who may ſtill have any "queſtions to put to me. I beg that they "will put them; I will anſwer all. I "requeſt as a favor that they who have any "real doubts, or any pretended ones, will "have the goodneſs to accuſe me: if they do "not do it, and yet in future accuſe me of "having *prepared anſwers*, they muſt give "me leave to think that they are actuated

"by

by malice rather than by true patriot-
" iſm." This effuſion was anſwered with a general murmur. It was obſerved by ſeveral members, that it was only through the Preſident that the Aſſembly had a right of calling upon the Miniſter, and conſequently that M. *du Portail*'s challenge was as unconſtitutional as inſulting to thoſe whom he preſumed to addreſs. This obſervation, which could not be anſwered, was juſtly conſidered as a merited reprimand, and it immediately deprived M. *du Portail* of the advantage he had obtained over his calumniators.

On the 31ſt of October M. *de Montmorin* and I went again to the Aſſembly to give in the ſtatement of our reſpective departments conformably to the decree that had been paſſed. At the time we entered the Hall, the tribune was occupied by a Deputy from Provence, named *Iſnard*, one of the moſt violent men of the *Coté-gauche*, as may be imagined by the firſt ſentence that ſtruck my ear on entering. " It is time," ſaid he, " that " the great ſquare of equality which has " been drawn over France ſhould take its " level. It is the continued impunity of the " great culprits that has forced the people to

" become the executioner: yes, the anger
" of the people, like that of God, is often
" only the terrible ſupplement of the ſilence
" of the laws." As ſoon as this orator left the tribune, I requeſted to be heard, and gave the moſt ſatisfactory ſtatement of our naval forces, which, including nine ſhips of the line and eight frigates then building, conſiſted in the whole of eighty-ſix ſhips of the line, three of 118 guns, five of 110, ten of 80, ſixty-ſeven of 74, and one of 64; ſeventy-eight frigates, twenty of which carried 36 eighteen pounders, and fifty-eight of 32 twelve pounders, forty-ſeven corvettes, ſeven gun-boats, and twenty-eight flutes or pinks. Their rigging, arms, and cannon were all complete for actual ſervice, even more than was neceſſary for the firſt year of a war: the warehouſes were ſufficiently ſtocked with the principal naval ſtores, and the victualling was as ample as it could be in time of peace: but I obſerved at the ſame time, that this naval force, however reſpectable it was, would be of no ſervice to the State, unleſs the diſorder and want of diſcipline which had crept into all the ſhips in every port were corrected. I added, that I ſhould unremittingly and firmly employ all the means

means that the Conſtitution had placed in my power for that purpoſe, but that it reſted principally with the Aſſembly to effect it, by haſtening to enact and promulgate the laws that remained to be paſſed reſpecting the new organization of the navy, and the ſervice of the ports and arſenals. With my report I gave a ſtatement, pointing out thoſe different laws, and ſuch as were moſt urgent. In ſpeaking of the want of ſubordination among the ſailors and workmen at the ports, I took care to impute it only to the exceſs of their patriotiſm; for I ſhould have been hooted and rendered unpopular, without reſource, and of no uſe, had I held a different language. The annihilation of all means of power but what the Conſtitution gave, and the King's oath and our own, reduced us to the neceſſity of ſeeking in the proviſions of this new Conſtitution a remedy for all revolutionary licentiouſneſs. It behoved us ſeriouſly to ſee it carried into execution. I declared that ſuch was my plan, and that no conſideration ſhould divert me from it*. This declaration was equally applauded by the Aſſembly and the galleries.

* From the zeal with which I adhered to it, I was regarded as a ſtanch Conſtitutionaliſt both by the Royaliſts and the Jacobins.

M. de

M. *de Montmorin* ſpoke after me, and gave an account of the diſpoſitions of the foreign Powers towards France, and of their anſwers to the notification which the King had ſent to them of his acceptance of the new Conſtitution. This report, which was the laſt act of M. *de Montmorin*'s Miniſtry, is too important a paper to be withheld from hiſtory*.

The flattering promiſes ſo often repeated by the authors of the Conſtitution were very far from being realized. How often had they declared from the Tribune and in their decrees, that the preſent ſtate of things was only a rapid paſſage but neceſſary to arrive at liberty, which would be the reward of it, a reward cheaply obtained. "Let us finiſh the "Conſtitution," ſaid they, "and no empire "will be more tranquil, happy, or flouriſh-"ing: the executive power will be greater "than ever; the King will be the greateſt King "in the whole world,—he will not reign "by force, but by love," &c. The ſtate of France at the end of the month of October 1791, that is to ſay, two months after the completion of the Conſtitution, fully expoſed

* See Appendix, No. II.

the

the falſehood of theſe vain and ſhameleſs vaunts, and decidedly proved the perfidy or mad preſumption of ſome, and the ſtupidity of others. The chimerical authority delegated to the King, was bound with ſo many fetters that it was as inſufficient in preventing ill, as in doing good. His happineſs—alas! there remained no more for him: ſome faint regard was ſtill preſerved for his perſon, but his heart was torn, not only by the violent perſecutions carried on at once againſt the nobility, againſt the prieſts who continued faithful, againſt the moſt zealous of his Majeſty's ſervants, againſt the Miniſters, &c. but likewiſe by the continuation of all the revolutionary crimes and of the general anarchy. For three days together (the 16th, 17th, and 18th of October) Avignon expiated, by rivers of blood, the crime of that fatal union which had been effected by the burning of ſix hundred houſes, the pillage of towns and boroughs, the maſſacre of ſome hundred of unarmed men, and the flight of every man of property who had been able to eſcape the aſſaſſins. The workmen at the port of Rochefort were in open rebellion, and had forced the Municipality to take down the red flag. At Liſle the whole garriſon

garriſon were hardly able to reſtrain the people, who had riſen on the account of the new paper money called *Notes on credit*, which was given in exchange for money and aſſignats. In almoſt all the provinces there were riotous meetings of the people, which were often ſupported by the national guards who were called in to ſuppreſs them. The circulation of ſpecie and the neceſſaries of life was interrupted in a hundred different places. The impoſts were refuſed. The adminiſtration was hated or deſpiſed, and deſtitute of power. The Courts of Juſtice were inactive, and were held in no reſpect. The priſons were not ſufficient for the number of delinquents. Paris had no police, and was infeſted by beggars, thieves, and all the villains who had been ſnatched from juſtice and ſet at liberty by the Revolution. Such, without exaggeration, were the firſt fruits of that new Conſtitution which was to render France ſo happy and ſo flouriſhing.

To complete our misfortune, news arrived at the ſame time that the colony of St. Domingo, which had been long convulſed by the revolutionary manœuvres of the *black friends*, was threatened with total deſtruction; that fifty thouſand Blacks or Mulattoes had rebelled,

rebelled, and burnt two hundred and eighteen ſugar plantations; that four hundred white people had been killed in an action with the rebels, who were entrenched at the diſtance of ſix miles from the Cape in a fortified camp, and who had not only muſkets but cannon, with which, it was ſaid, they were ſupplied by the Dutch and the Spaniards.

The intelligence of theſe diſaſters was not tranſmitted officially to me, but had come by the way of England to ſome merchants of Havre, who communicated it to the Municipality, by whom it was ſent to the Aſſembly as well as to me. I immediately laid it before the King, who, without heſitation, ordered me to augment directly the troops to be embarked for St. Domingo to the number of 2300, to expedite their departure as much as poſſible, and to take the neceſſary meaſures for ſending out much greater ſuccour, ſhould the official letters, which were every moment expected, confirm the alarm raiſed by the private letters of which the Municipality of Havre had forwarded copies.

I informed the Aſſembly of theſe meaſures in a letter addreſſed to the Preſident, and on the ſame day the united Committees of the Navy

Navy and of the Colonies ſent in a report, in the concluſion of which they gave it as their opinion, that the King ſhould be requeſted to give the orders which he had already done. The hired leader of the faction for the *Black-friends*, the famous *Briſſot*, impudently cenſured the precipitancy of theſe meaſures, and pronounced me reſponſible for them. He was not ſatisfied with maintaining that the news reſpecting St. Domingo was falſe, becauſe unlikely, but he endeavoured to give an idea that the fabrication of it was a manœuvre of the Ariſtocracy. "I owe to "my country," ſaid he, "ſome obſervations "on occurrences ſo ſingular. By what "fatality does the news of this misfortune "arrive preciſely at the moment when the "emigration encreaſes with ſuch obſtinacy; "at the moment when the diſaffected talk "with inexplicable confidence of an ex-"ploſion at hand; at the moment when "a deputation of Planters, ridiculouſly "creating powers for themſelves, ſeem to "inſinuate to the Executive Power, by a "more than ordinary homage, a deſire of "inſenſibly withdrawing the Colonies from "the Legiſlative Supremacy? Is not this a "ramification of a great plan, which ſhall

"fail

"fail like all the reſt*?" The Aſſembly ordered this ſpeech to be printed, and contented themſelves with paſſing to the order of the day, on the report of their Committees and my letter. Among the letters from St. Domingo, ſome mentioned ſongs that were ſung by the Negroes, young and old, on the Revolution and on Liberty: the burden of thoſe ſung by the young was, *La Fayette and Gregoire* † *for ever*, and of thoſe ſung by the old, *Raynal and Victory.*

I ſhall not advert to any of the epigrams for which thoſe poor wretches furniſhed matter, by thus coupling M. *de la Fayette* and the Abbe *Gregoire;* I ſhall only obſerve that the Abbe *Raynal* is ſince dead, having

* *Condorcet*, who as well as *Briſſot* was a member of the ſociety of *the friends of the Blacks*, and the editor of a paper, ſupported this conjecture the next day in a poſitive tone in the Paris Chronicle. He maintained, that the letters ſent from England reſpecting St. Domingo were nothing more than Ariſtocratic combinations for a counter-revolution, which clearly proved there was a project for forming for the King an Empire beyond ſea, where there might be maſters and ſlaves.

† A factious villain, a member of the 1ſt Aſſembly and of the ſociety of the friends of the blacks.

firſt

firſt ſolemnly pointed out and expoſed in the midſt of the Aſſembly the errors into which they had fallen by a fallacious interpretation of the principles he had publiſhed on liberty.

The news of the calamities of St. Domingo was confirmed a few days after by the copy of a letter from the Governor of Jamaica, ſent to me by the Engliſh Ambaſſador, and which I addreſſed to the Aſſembly. It appeared from it that the negroes had riſen, and had burnt and laid waſte all the houſes and plantations within fifty miles of the Cape; and that the Colony was in want of arms, ammunition, and proviſions. M. *de Blanchelande*, the governor of St. Domingo, and the Aſſembly had applied to Lord Effingham, the Governor of Jamaica, who had immediately ſent them 500 muſkets, 1500 weight of balls, and had given them leave to purchaſe proviſions at Jamaica.

This letter gave birth to the moſt ridiculous debate on the form in which the Aſſembly ſhould acknowledge ſuch a generous piece of ſervice. Some were confining themſelves to a vote of thanks to Lord Effingham, and charging the Preſident to write him a letter of acknowledgment in the name of the Aſſembly. "No, no," it was ſaid; "it is not

"to

" to the Governor but to the Government, " who approved his conduct, that we owe " our thanks."—" Well," it was replied, " we have only to thank both." Others, not finding ſufficient dignity in theſe different opinions, inſiſted that it was neither to the Governor nor the Government, but to the Engliſh Nation that the thanks of the Aſſembly ought to be addreſſed. " Indeed, Gentle- " men," cried one of the moſt reaſonable of the Deputies, " you are much longer in " determining your thanks than your bene- " factors were in determining the ſervice " rendered." On this obſervation the Preſident put the queſtion for a vote of thanks to the Engliſh Nation, and particularly to Lord Effingham, which was decreed in thoſe very terms.

The diſpatches from the Governor of St. Domingo did not reach me till the 7th of November: they came by the way of England, and contained the moſt circumſtantial details reſpecting the inſurrection of the Negroes, and the horrible conſequences of it. I immediately ſent a copy of theſe diſpatches to the Aſſembly, annexing a ſtate of the expences, which might be preſumed requiſite, for ſending ſix thouſand troops to

St. Domingo, and for the ſtores demanded by M. *de Blanchelande*.

Scarcely were theſe papers read when ſeveral ſpeakers deſired to be heard: no one however was heard, and this buſineſs, the weightieſt, the moſt urgent, and the moſt ſimple that could occupy the Aſſembly, was referred, without the ſlighteſt diſcuſſion, to the profound inveſtigation of the united Committees of the Navy and of the Colonies. The ſilly pretext of new impediments being every day ſought for, in order to protract the diſcuſſion on emigration, was given as the motive of this reference. "*Let us finiſh* "*the Emigrants;*" roared *La Croix*, the moſt formidable bawler of the Aſſembly. Accordingly that diſcuſſion was inſtantly reſumed, and concluded the ſame day, with the following decree, which was finally drawn up, and paſſed on the next day.

Decree againſt the Emigrants.

Article 1. The French aſſembled beyond the frontiers of the kingdom, are henceforth declared ſuſpected of conſpiracy againſt France.

2 If

2. If on the firſt day of January next, they continue to be ſtill aſſembled, they ſhall be declared guilty of conſpiracy, ſhall be proſecuted accordingly, and ſuffer death.

3. With reſpect to the French Princes and public Officers civil and military, who were ſuch at the time of their leaving the kingdom, their being abſent at the time above appointed, January 1ſt, 1792, ſhall render them guilty of the ſame crime of conſpiracy againſt the country, and they ſhall undergo the penalty mentioned in the preceding article.

4. In the firſt fortnight of the ſaid month of January, the Supreme National Court ſhall be convoked, if there ſhould be occaſion for it.

5. The incomes of Conſpirators, found guilty for not appearing, ſhall, during their life, be received for the uſe of the Nation, ſaving the rights of wives, children, and lawful creditors.

6. From that time all the revenues of the French Princes abſent from the kingdom, ſhall be ſequeſtered. No maintenance, penſion, or revenue whatever ſhall be paid, directly or indirectly, to the ſaid Princes, their aſſigns or attornies, until this article

ſhall have been repealed by the National Aſſembly, under pain of impriſonment, and alſo of re-payment by whoever orders or pays the ſame. Neither ſhall any payments of their ſalaries and penſions be made, under the ſame penalties above mentioned, to the public officers civil and military, or to the Emigrant State Penſioners, without prejudice nevertheleſs to the execution of the decrees of January 4, 1791.

7. All the proceedings neceſſary for the receipts and ſequeſtrations decreed by the two preceding articles, ſhall be carried on by petition from the Syndic Solicitor General of the Department, on the proſecution of the Syndic Solicitors of each diſtrict where the ſaid revenues lie, and the money produced by them ſhall be paid into the hands of the receivers of the diſtrict who ſhall be accountable for it. The Syndic Solicitor General ſhall every month tranſmit a ſtatement of all proceedings carried on in execution of this article, to the Miniſter of the Interior, who ſhall give an account of them to the National Aſſembly.

8. All public Officers abſent from the kingdom without lawful cauſe, before the Amneſty paſſed by the law of the 19th of

September

September 1791, have forfeited their offices and emoluments, without derogating however from the law of the 18th of December.

9. All public officers who ſhall have quitted their poſts, ſhall be deprived of their offices for ever. And all public officers abſent from the kingdom without lawful cauſe, ſince the Amneſty, have alſo forfeited their offices and emoluments, and furthermore the rights of active citizens.

10. No public officer ſhall go out of the kingdom without leave of abſence from the Miniſter of the department to which he belongs, under the penalties mentioned in the ninth article above.

11. Every military officer of whatever rank who quits his duty without leave or reſignation accepted, ſhall be held guilty of deſertion and puniſhed like a common deſerter. The Miniſters are bound to give in every month to the National Aſſembly the liſts of leaves of abſence they ſhall have ſigned. And as to the general officers, commiſſioned officers, warrant officers, and ſoldiers, whether of the line or of the National Guard in garriſon or on the frontiers, they ſhall not on any pretence whatever, go beyond the frontiers for ever

ſo ſhort a time, without incurring the penalty mentioned in this article.

12. Conformably to the law a Court-Martial ſhall be held in each military diviſion to try military offences committed ſince the Amneſty. The public accuſers ſhall further proſecute for theft all perſons who ſhall have carried off effects or money belonging to any French regiment. The Miniſter ſhall be held bound to ſend lists to the Courts-Martial of the officers who, ſince the Amneſty, have quitted their colours without permiſſion or leave of abſence previouſly obtained.

13. Every Frenchman who, being out of the kingdom, ſhall enliſt or enroll perſons for the purpoſe of joining thoſe aſſembled, as mentioned in the 1ſt and 2d articles of the preſent decree, ſhall ſuffer death according to the law. And every perſon committing the ſame crime in France ſhall ſuffer the ſame puniſhment.

14. The National Aſſembly charge their diplomatic Committee to propoſe the meaſures which the King ſhall be requeſted to take, in the name of the Nation, in reſpect to the contiguous foreign Powers who ſuffer

the

the French fugitives to aſſemble on their territory.

15. The National Aſſembly expreſſly declare all laws to have no effect contrary to the preſent decree.

16. The preſent decree ſhall be carried in the courſe of the day for the King's ſanction.

By this monſtrous decree, the Aſſembly, whoſe powers reſpecting ſuch as were accuſed of crimes againſt the general ſafety, had been reduced by the act of the Conſtitution to proſecuting them in the Supreme National Court, declared in the firſt inſtance thouſands of perſons ſuſpected of this crime, who in leaving France, and moſt of them had done ſo for the ſafety of their lives, had only made uſe of the liberty, guaranteed to them by the Conſtitution, as a natural and civil right, of going or ſtaying without being moleſted. This decree alſo declared them, in the ſecond article, guilty of conſpiracy if they ſhould not have returned to France by the 1ſt of January 1792, and condemned them to ſuffer death. The princes and public officers were rendered guilty of treaſon by the mere circumſtance of their abſence, and as ſuch condemned to die if they were not in the kingdom by the 1ſt of January.

Thus theſe ſanguinary Legiſlators, not content with enacting ſo atrocious a law, directed the application of it themſelves, and left to juſtice no other office to perform, than that of the executioner *to finiſh the Emigrants*, as the Deputy *Lacroix* had expreſſed himſelf.

Were I to give a minute account of the groſs and tumultuous debates which preceded this decree, of the violent agitation and clamours of a crowd of theſe Deputies, their matted locks, their ſhabby cloaths, their ſpeaking all at once, inſulting one another, threatening with their fiſts, ready every moment to come to blows, the reader would rather think, that he was reading a diſguſting narrative of ſome Billingsgate ſquabble, than the minutes of a Sitting of the Repreſentatives of the Nation, accuſing, trying, and condemning to death the King's brothers, and the French Nobility.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Change in the Miniſtry—A fine Edition of the Conſtitution preſented to the Aſſembly by a Bookſeller—Letter from the Municipality of Caen—Their Proceedings againſt ſome Gentlemen and their Servants, for attending Maſs performed by a non-juring Prieſt—Iſnard's Speech on that Occaſion—The King refuſes his Sanction to the Decree againſt the Emigrants—Meaſures taken by the King reſpecting them—Denunciation of Varnier the Occaſion of

of the firſt Supreme National Court being ordered—Identity of the Perſon uſed to expedite Trials—Barbarous Proceeding in the Aſſembly againſt the Prieſts—Petion choſen to ſucceed M. Bailly as Mayor of Paris—M. de Leſſart confirmed Miniſter of Foreign Affairs and ſucceeded in the Department of the Interior by M. Cahier de Gerville.

AT this time, which was ſoon after my entering into adminiſtration, the following changes took place in the Miniſtry: M. *de Montmorin* reſigned his office of the Department for Foreign Affairs, which M. *de Leſſart* held, till a ſucceſſor ſhould be appointed; and M. *de Portail* in the War Department, was ſucceeded by M. *de Narbonne**.

The clamour, inſults, and denunciations againſt the Miniſters daily increaſed, and became more ſerious; but the object was not only to diſcredit and lower them in the

* The particulars attending theſe changes, which, though intereſting, are not material to the thread of the hiſtory, are given more at large in my Private Memoirs, Vol. I. chap. x.

public

public opinion, they were chiefly aimed againſt Royalty, which ſeemed to have been identified with the Executive Power, only to maſk under this new denomination the attacks to be made upon it, and to divert the attention of the people, the majority of whom retained a love and a reſpect for the King, which were ſtill troubleſome to the Jacobins. They clearly betrayed the object they had in view, by the enthuſiaſm with which in the Sitting of the 11th of November they applauded the impertinent letter ſent by the Bookſeller *Garnery*, to the Aſſembly, with a vellum copy of the new Conſtitution. This letter, which ſeems to have been compoſed at ſome Republican orgies, was as follows:

" Legiſlators! The Conſtitution is the " Goſpel of the French, it will become the " glad tidings to all nations, and has even " already enlightened Spain and Italy by the " copies which have been diſperſed in thoſe " countries. I have had it printed on " vellum paper: you cannot refuſe to accept " the firſt copy, *which is due to the Sove-* " *reign.* The King ſhall have the ſecond."

The Conſtitution had in fact always named the Legiſlative Body before the King, and this *patriot bookſeller* wiſhed, no doubt,

to

to ſhow, that he was as able to underſtand the ſpirit, as to print a fine edition of it. His letter was heard with the greateſt ſatisfaction: the ſtyle and laconiſm of it were praiſed, but what was admired above all, was the purity of the civiſm, and of the principles of the author. After debating ſome time on the great queſtion, whether it was ſufficient or not ſufficient to make honorable mention of this letter in the Minutes, it was decreed that it ſhould be inſerted in them verbatim.

the ſame Sitting, another letter, of a much more important nature, was read from the Municipality of Caen, of which the following is an accurate extract:

" For ſome time paſt, a crowd of *Emi-*
" *grants** and former nobles of Caen and
" its neighbourhood, have taken upon
" themſelves to meet at public places and
" join in cavalcades, ſeeming by their arro-
" gance, their expreſſions and threats, to
" announce hoſtile plans. They ſound
" people's opinions, and think they can eaſily
" bring over to their party, thoſe whom

* Theſe at leaſt were not at Coblentz, and had they come from that Place their return into the kingdom before the time fixed by the decrees, was enough to prevent their being conſidered as Emigrants.

" they

" they describe under the name of *honeſt citi-*
" *zens and malcontents.* The cauſe of the non-
" juring prieſts was their pretence. Theſe
" circumſtances determined the Magiſtrates
" of the Department to order thoſe prieſts to
" quit their pariſhes: but the letter from the
" Miniſter of the Interior, by re-inſtating
" them in the rights which had been for-
" merly granted them, has occaſioned a
" fermentation, which doubtleſs he was far
" from foreſeeing. Theſe prieſts have return-
" ed to their pariſhes, headed by ſerjeants and
" ſerjeant's followers; and although the
" conſtitutional prieſts, faithful to the law,
" opened their churches to them, and ſupplied
" them with all the ornaments neceſſary for
" divine worſhip, they were nevertheleſs
" inſulted and threatened by the people who
" accompanied the nonjuring prieſts. On
" the 4th of November M. *Bunel*, formerly
" rector of the pariſh of St. John, performed
" maſs there at eight o'clock, having firſt
" appriſed the Conſtitutional rector of his
" intention. The church was full, and
" what was aſtoniſhing, the chancel and
" choir were crowded with former Nobles
" and their ſervants, who were *ſuſpected* to
" be armed with piſtols, and *ſuppoſed* to
" be

" be placed for the purpoſe of creating a
" riot. M. *Bunel* announced, that he
" ſhould repair next day to the church at
" the ſame hour. He was heard to ſay to
" thoſe about him; '*have patience, let us be*
" *prudent, Heaven will aſſiſt us, and all*
" *will go well.*' Some perſon called for a
" TE DEUM,' as a thankſgiving. The
" Council General of the Commune, being
" informed of this meeting, wrote to M.
" *Bunel* not to ſay maſs next day. He
" obeyed this mandate, but the alteration
" not being known, a conſiderable concourſe
" of people repaired to the pariſh. An
" officer of the National Guard and ſome
" patriots, uneaſy at the meeting, went into
" the church, and queſtioned ſeven or eight
" ſervants who were accuſed of inſulting a
" grenadier. The ſervants replied, '*You are*
" *come to look for what you will probably*
" *find*: we are ſtronger than you, we will
" drive you out of the church.' A young
" man attempting to diſarm a National
" Guard, *who had come to reſtore order*,
" received ſeveral thruſts of a bayonet, and
" was thrown down; others fired piſtols.
" The Drum-major of the National Guard,
" ſword in hand, attacked thoſe who fired

" them.

" them. Two Municipal Officers, accom-
" panied by the Duputies of the Solicitor of
" the Commune, with two companies of
" Grenadiers and Rangers, and all the National
" Guards that could be aſſembled, went to
" the church with the red flag, but not
" flying. Peace was reſtored, but not till
" ſome perſons had been wounded. All
" the corps of adminiſtration were invited
" to repair to the Commune. Being there
" aſſembled, they ſent the ſenior officer to
" the ſquare, where they had been informed
" that a crowd of armed people, conſiſting of
" the former nobles and ſervants, were col-
" lected; the officer prevailed upon them to
" enter the court of the Town Houſe. They
" were ſeparately interrogated, and it was firſt
" decided that they ſhould be diſmiſſed, but an
" anonymous letter found on one of them,
" determined the council to confine them, to
" the number of eighty-two, in the Caſtle.
" Another perſon leaving the town, was
" taken up, and a plan of a counter-revolu-
" tion, agreeing with that of the anonymous
" letter, was found in his pockets. This
" plan, divided into articles, contained a
" ſcheme for the formation of Committees,
" to be ſubſtituted for the Conſtituted
" Authorities,

" Authorities, and for the eſtabliſhment of an
" active force, to be choſen among the
" Citizens, called *honeſt* and *malcontents*.
" The leaders of the conſpiracy were de-
" ſcribed. Another anonymous letter ſaid,
" that on the Monday following there
" would be commotions, and that the mal-
" contents of Bayeux were coming to join
" thoſe of Caen," &c.

Upon theſe different facts the Commune and the Diſtrict of Caen had, againſt the opinion of all the Adminiſtrators of the Department, (one only excepted,) adopted a reſolution, by which all ſtrangers whatever, then at Caen, were enjoined to appear at the Municipality in four-and-twenty hours, there to depoſit their arms, and declare the reaſons for their reſiding in the place. By the ſame reſolution the nonjuring prieſts were ordered not to celebrate maſs in any of the churches of Caen, until the National Aſſembly, on being informed of the *cogent reaſons* on which this reſolution was founded, ſhould take the propereſt meaſures on the occaſion.

Had this Aſſembly been capable of coolly examining the real ſtate of the pretended commotions, which the town of Caen had denounced to them—had they ſtruck out of the

the letter of the Municipal Officers, the vague aſſertions, ſuppoſitions, and ſuſpicions, ſuggeſted by the moſt intolerant fanaticiſm, and confined themſelves to the facts poſitively ſtated, they would have ſeen in this great concourſe of Citizens aſſembled in the pariſh church to hear maſs ſaid by their old paſtor, nothing more than their attachment to the Catholic worſhip, and their deſire of manifeſting by a TE DEUM the joy they felt on the re-eſtabliſhment of the freedom of that worſhip; they would have condemned the National Guards, who, according to the laws, ſhould not have appeared with arms in that church, without being called upon to do ſo by ſome of the Conſtituted Authorities, and who, having gone in without any ſummons whatever, under a pretence of reſtoring order, which had been diſturbed only by their preſence, had made uſe of their bayonets and ſwords againſt peaceable and unarmed Citizens: for the Municipality, far from affirming that they had arms, had only thought proper to advance in their letter that they *ſuppoſed* they were armed. And what alarm could be created by thoſe gentlemen who had gone to Caen to hear maſs ſaid by their good Rector, and who having met together

horſeback in the public ſquare, to the number of eighty-four, including their ſervants, had ſuffered themſelves to be led to the *Hotel de Ville* by a ſingle officer, and to be put into priſon without the ſlighteſt reſiſtance? Was the anonymous letter ſaid to be found on one of them, ſufficient to cauſe them all to be ſuſpected of counter-revolutionary projects? Were the contents of a letter ever ſo criminal, the mere circumſtance of receiving it can give no ground whatever of ſuſpicion; and yet it was the only one on which eighty-four citizens, almoſt all of them gentlemen, were arreſted and ſent to priſon. The Aſſembly, inſtead of annulling ſo arbitrary an act of authority with the diſapprobation it deſerved, laviſhed the higheſt praiſes on the conduct of the Municipals of Caen. In the maſs ſaid by the non-juring rector, in the requeſt of a TE DEUM, and in the cavalcade of the gentlemen, they ſaw a complete proof of treaſonable machinations againſt the ſafety of the State. "We muſt be reſolved to reject "evidence," cried the furious *Iſnard*, "to "doubt that there are in Caen great culprits "guilty of treaſon againſt the nation: cite "them, as ſoon as poſſible, before the "National Supreme Court; it is the only re-

"ſource

" ſource you have. We muſt at length " draw from its ſcabbard the new ſword of " the Law, which has been wrought by " Liberty. Let us proceed as ſovereigns; " it is only by letting fall the thunder-bolt " amidſt your enemies, that you will at " laſt teach them to acknowledge and re- " ſpect your power. While you hold the " reins of the empire, you ſhould yield " neither to fear nor to pity. It behoves " you to make all bend before the Law, or " you are not worthy of commanding in " its name. Let us act then with the " courage and energy becoming the Repre- " ſentatives of the Nation. Let us know " how to dare; and when the principal " delinquents have left their heads upon " the ſcaffold, we ſhall ſee the others, ſhud- " dering, bite the bit of the Law, and " ſubmit to it." His reaſoning was ſup- ported by all the ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche*; they all violently inſiſted on the neceſſity of paſſing a decree of accuſation againſt the eighty-four perſons arreſted, and of immediately convoking the National Supreme Court to try them. It was not till after a long debate that the motion was negatived. It was, however, decreed, that

all the perſons arreſted ſhould remain in Confinement until further orders; that the Executive Power ſhould, in the courſe of the day, diſpatch an extraordinary meſſenger to the Municipality of Caen, for attested copies of the examinations, and of all the papers mentioned in the minutes of the Council General; and that the Miniſter of the Interior ſhould, on the next day, give an account to the Aſſembly of the particulars which he muſt have received reſpecting the diſturbances that had taken place at Caen, the cauſe of which the Anti-miniſterialiſts flattered themſelves they ſhould find in the letter he had written on the freedom of divine worſhip*.

It has already been ſeen, that the decree againſt the King's brothers had not ſufficiently ſatiated the vengeance of the Jacobins, by whom the greater part of the Aſſembly were influenced or intimidated.

* This buſineſs was not reported till the 24th of June following, and M. *Gonet de la Bique* was the only perſon decreed to be tried. It was ordered that M. *Manneville* ſhould be brought to the bar to be examined, and all the others were diſcharged without a trial, after an impriſonment of more than ten weeks.

Their

Their rancour required another violent decree againſt the Emigrants, and the Aſſembly had ſatisfied them in this point, by iſſuing one, which not only exceeded its powers, but was even contrary to the ſpirit of the Conſtitution. This was ſo evident, that after a minute diſcuſſion, the King's Miniſters unanimouſly adviſed him to refuſe his ſanction. But as the King had never yet employed this prerogative, the Miniſters were of opinion, that to prevent its having a bad effect upon the public, and likewiſe that it might ſtrike the Aſſembly with ſome degree of awe, it would be prudent to give to this meaſure an unuſual degree of ſolemnity, by ordering the refuſal of the ſanction to be carried to the Aſſembly in the form of a royal meſſage, by all the Miniſters, whoſe preſence would mark their unanimous agreement; and the Keeper of the Seals, who ſhould deliver the meſſage, might inſert in his ſpeech ſome ſentences, enforcing the wiſdom and juſtice of his Majeſty's motives for refuſing his ſanction to the decree.

The 12th of November being the day fixed for this meſſage of the King, all the Miniſters met at the houſe of the Keeper of

the Seals, that they might go together to the Aſſembly. Before we ſet out, he called for and drank two large glaſſes of water. I was afraid he was ill; but on mentioning my apprehenſions, he anſwered, "No; it "is only a precaution I take every time I go "to the Aſſembly. The blood boils in my "veins when I hear theſe fellows ſpeak; "and if I did not take ſomething to cool "myſelf, I ſhould get into a paſſion, and "be apt to tell them very diſagreeable "truths."

"I hope," ſaid I, "all this water will "only moderate the paſſion, without weak-"ening thoſe truths you have to tell them, "be they agreeable or not."

The appearance of all the Miniſters, and a meſſage from the King, (the firſt the Aſſembly had ever received, and of which the object was entirely unknown,) excited a general and profound ſilence in the Hall and in the Tribunes. That of the galleries could only be imputed to curioſity; but in the ſilence of the Aſſembly there was at leaſt as much uneaſineſs as ſurpriſe. The Keeper of the Seals began by laying upon the table the different decrees which the King had ſanctioned, among which there were two or three

three which the Aſſembly had expected, for ſome time, with a good deal of impatience. He terminated this firſt part of his miſſion by informing the Aſſembly, that with reſpect to the decree againſt the Emigrants, the *King would examine it*; which ſignified, in conſtitutional language, that the decree was refuſed. He then drew from his pocket the paper which contained his diſcourſe. Unluckily the water operated at that moment with ſo much violence, that his colour forſook him, his hands trembled, and his voice failed him ſo much, that he could hardly read. And what was ſtill more unlucky, the firſt phraſe, inſtead of relating to the ſubject of the meſſage, mentioned the refuſal of the ſanction. He was not permitted to proceed farther. A general murmur aroſe. All the Deputies ſpoke at once. Every one inſiſted on being heard, but no ſilence was to be obtained. They all vociferouſly exclaimed, "Mr. "Preſident, we cannot liſten to this meſ- "ſage."—"This meſſage is unconſtitu- "tional."—"It is the motives for refuſing "the ſanction."—"Call the Miniſter of "Juſtice to order."—Mr. Preſident, the "the Conſtitution——"—"Mr. Preſi- "dent,

" dent, allow me to make a motion of
" order." This tumult laſted ſeven or eight minutes. The Miniſters waited the iſſue of it ſtanding. At length the Preſident put it to the vote; Whether they ſhould hear the meſſage, or paſs to the order of the day. The Keeper of the Seals, entirely diſconcerted by this tumultuous ſcene, ſat down with the other Miniſters, giving up all hopes of being heard.

To prevent ſuch an unexpected and unfortunate termination of the buſineſs, I aſked leave to ſpeak. They refuſed to hear me, and the motion for the order of the day was carried; after which the Preſident told me that I was now allowed to ſpeak. I roſe and ſaid, that I now had nothing to ſay; but had I been heard before the laſt motion was carried, I ſhould have informed the Aſſembly, that the object of the King's meſſage was to acquaint them with the new meaſures adopted by his Majeſty for ſtopping the emigration. This renewed the tumult; one party inſiſting on hearing the meſſage, and recalling the decree juſt pronounced; the other exclaiming for its execution. But the Miniſters remaining paſſive,

ſive, and the Keeper of the Seals, who ought to have repreſented to the Aſſembly, that they had no right, by the Conſtitution, to refuſe to hear any meſſage from the King, being ſilent, the order of the day was adopted.

The meaſures taken by the King reſpecting the Emigrants, which we were charged to make known to the Aſſembly, conſiſted of a proclamation, and three letters written by his Majeſty on the 16th of October preceding, to all the Princes who had emigrated, and one to each of his brothers. Theſe*, which were reduced to writing by M. *Duport du Tertre* and M. *de Leſſart*, were publiſhed next day in ſeveral papers, in order to counteract the effect of the declamations of the Jacobins on the refuſal of the ſanction.

When we entered the Hall, we found the Aſſembly moſt violently agitated by a denunciation made by one of the greateſt villains amongſt them, of the name of *Bazire*†, the object

* Appendix, No. III.

† The public did juſtice to this Deputy and two of his colleagues, by generally applauding and repeating the

object of whoſe denunciation was a letter ſaid to be written by a former Receiver General of the Finances, named Farmer, to a Collector of the Cuſtoms at Auxonne, whoſe name was *Noireau de Pontarlier*. He refuſed to give any account of the means by which this letter had been intercepted, or how it had come into his hands; but promiſing to reveal theſe *when there ſhould be occaſion for it*, he read the contents to the Aſſembly. The following are the moſt remarkable paſſages of it: "Continue, my "dear friend, your dexterity in favouring "the paſſage of the perſons employed to "go to the Emigrants. Do not ſend mar-"ried men, for they would give wind to "the buſineſs in writing to their wives. "The ſixty-three are arrived at Coblentz; "this has given great ſatisfaction. Diſ-"patch thoſe of Dijon and the neighbour-

the following poor epigram whenever their names were mentioned:

Connoiſſez vous rien de plus ſot
Que Merlin, Bazire, et Chabot?
Peut on voir rein de plus coquin
Que Chabot, Bazire, et Merlin?
Non, il n'exiſte rein de pire
Que Merlin, Chabot, et Bazire.

"ing

" ing places. Make them believe that you " are ſending them to the frontiers on ac- " count of the ſmuggling; that there are " good prizes to be made there, and that the " former Generals no longer take any ſhare " of them. M. *Tardy* has given great " ſatisfaction; he gets them off with much " addreſs, and no money. If you have " fine men, and they ſhould be in want of " money, make them ſome advance, which " you will charge upon their commiſſion. " I have juſt received 500 livres, which I " ſend you. If we ſhould aſſemble 29,000 " men at Coblentz, judges ſay with cer- " tainty that the army of the National " Guards will be ſoon driven to Paris, " where they will be mauled by the Mal- " contents, who are very numerous there, " while the Princes enter the Provinces " fully prepared to put themſelves under " the protection of the King. A Counter- " revolution is certain. The National Aſ- " ſembly are in the greateſt diſcredit, and " will not wait to be driven away before " they ſeparate."

The Aſſembly were not withheld by the little confidence to be placed in the denouncer, nor by the little probability there was

was that any man choſen to execute ſo nice and dangerous a commiſſion, ſhould be imprudent and fooliſh enough to write ſo explicitly without a neceſſity for it, in a letter ſigned by him, which, if diſcovered, could not fail to bring both the writer and the perſon addreſſed to the guillotine. The letter ſeemed ſufficient of itſelf, unſupported by farther teſtimony, to prove the exiſtence of an execrable plot againſt the nation, liberty, &c. Twenty different motions were made at once, and were ſupported and oppoſed by clamours ſo noiſy and tumultuous, that it was impoſſible to hear what was ſaid. On our appearance in the Hall a dead ſilence ſucceeded the uproar: but we were no ſooner gone, than the diſcuſſion we had interrupted was reſumed with equal violence; and, after a long debate, the Aſſembly paſſed a decree of accuſation againſt M. *Varnier*. It was, however, immediately ſuſpended on the intelligence of the accuſed being arreſted, and about to be brought to the bar, where he appeared, after having ſeveral times narrowly eſcaped being maſſacred by the populace. He underwent a long examination, the reſult of which was, that he was thirty years old, that he was not a Receiver

a Receiver General of the Finances, but that he had been the principal Collector of the Revenue at Auxonne; that his office had been ſuppreſſed ſix months before, on which he had come to Paris, where he had remained to ſolicit a place, and that the Adminiſtration of the Cuſtoms had juſt appointed him to the chief Collectorſhip of Condom; that he was acquainted with M. *Noireau de Pontarlier*, who was Receiver of the Salt Duties at Auxonne, and that he had come to Paris with him, but that he had not written to him for ſix months paſt. The letter addreſſed to *Noireau* was ſhown to him. He did not acknowledge it; and only obſerved, that ſomebody had been attempting to counterfeit his writing, but that it had been very ill done. He was aſked if he had any of his writing about him. He replied, he had not, but that ſome might be found in his room, the key of which had been taken by the officer who arreſted him. He wrote ſome words which were dictated to him by the Preſident, and then withdrew out of the Hall, attended by the guard who had brought him, to wait till the Aſſembly determined his fate. The diſcuſſion was ſhort: it was agreed, that the only thing to be

be done was to identify the perſon, that is to ſay, to aſcertain whether the man who had appeared at the bar was named *Varnier* or not, whether he had been an officer of the Revenue, and whether he now lodged at the Hotel of the Great *Louis*; becauſe it was under theſe three deſcriptions he had been denounced, and he had himſelf allowed them to be accurate. "As to the "letter," ſaid a Member, "in denying it, "he has only done what you muſt have ex- "pected; but a very remarkable confeſſion "eſcaped him, that 'ſomebody had been "attempting to imitate his writing,' and "that was ſufficient grounds for preſuming "that the writing of the accuſed was very "like that in the letter." Theſe reaſons were enough, not only for accuſing *Varnier*, but for including in the decree of accuſation *Tardy*, who was named in the letter, and *Noireau*, to whom it was addreſſed. The Aſſembly ordered a municipal officer to take charge of *Varnier*, and ſend him to the Abbaye, and they did not break up till they were informed that he was ſafely lodged there. They alſo ordered that the ſpeedieſt preparations ſhould be made for holding the

National

National Supreme Court, and for the nomination of the proper juries and profecutors.

I thought it neceſſary to give a particular account of this affair, not only becauſe it was the occaſion of the firſt holding of the National Supreme Court, but becauſe it was at this period alſo that the Revolution introduced the form as atrocious as expeditious of *the identity of the perſon.* It was at firſt only employed in curtailing the proceedings between the denunciation and the decree of accuſation, till *Robeſpierre* turned it to much greater advantage, by making uſe of it to annihilate all proceedings between accuſation and condemnation. The identity of the perſon of any one accuſed put an end to any farther inquiry at the Revolutionary Tribunals and Military Courts, and kept the ſtanding guillotines at conſtant work throughout the kingdom.

This Aſſembly, whether owing to its compoſition or to its conduct, had ſunk into the moſt profound contempt almoſt as ſoon as it had met; and the Members, conſcious that they could never hope to be reſpected, determined to be feared. For this purpoſe, they multiplied denunciations and profecutions

proſecutions againſt chimerical conſpirators, and inſults, menaces, and decrees of a moſt rigorous nature againſt the Princes, Nobility, and Emigrants. They thought in this manner to diſplay the moſt commanding energy and the moſt zealous patriotiſm, while they only evinced an effrontery groſs and ferocious. In ſupport of this aſſertion, I ſhall only cite a few paſſages from a ſpeech delivered in the Tribune by one of the ſpeakers moſt applauded at that time—*Iſnard**.

The ſubject in queſtion was reſpecting the meaſures to be taken in order to ſuppreſs the diſturbances ſaid to be raiſed by the non-juring Prieſts. The Committees charged to propoſe a decree upon it, found themſelves ſo puzzled, that they daily framed new pretences for delaying their report. It was, in fact, difficult enough to reconcile coercive or penal regulations, ſuch as the majority of the Aſſembly deſired, with the liberty of worſhip, and with the decrees already paſſed reſpecting beneficed non-juring Eccleſiaſtics, which, on depriving them of their benefices, had aſſigned them a

* Sitting of November 14th.

ſupport,

ſupport, which the Conſtitution, *tit.* 5, *art.* 2, declared *to be part of the National debt, the payment of which could never either be refuſed or ſuſpended.* At length, after a month's labour and diſcuſſion, the Reporter propoſed a plan for a decree to the United Committees, who rejected it as too rigorous. It was nevertheleſs propoſed to the Aſſembly, who alſo rejected it, but becauſe it was too mild. It was on this occaſion that *Iſnard* aſcended the Tribune, and uſed the following arguments:

" Some worthy men are of opinion, that " there cannot be a law made againſt the " Prieſts, and they argue thus: *Either the* " *Prieſts are fanatics, or they are diſturbers* " *of the peace: if they are only fanatics,* " *you cannot make a law againſt them; be-* " *cauſe freedom of opinion and of worſhip* " *forms one of the fundamental laws of the* " *State: if they are diſturbers of the peace,* " *the law is already made; let it be put into* " *execution.* What! are you not ſenſible of " the fallacy of this dilemma? Is it not evi- " dent, has it not been allowed in all times, " that Religion is the inſtrument of the moſt " dangerous crimes? It follows, that a Prieſt " diſturbing the peace is a thouſand times

" more criminal than any other citizen.
" They cannot then be tried by the ſame
" law; now, there is yet no law againſt
" Prieſts who are diſturbers of the peace.
" Of what nature ſhould it be? There is
" but one puniſhment to be applied to this
" crime, and that is, baniſhment from the
" kingdom. They are lazars, whom you
" muſt ſend to the hoſpitals of Rome, and
" other parts of Italy. If you puniſh them
" in a different manner, if you leave them
" the power of preaching, *maſſing*, and
" confeſſing, of which you cannot deprive
" them according to the freedom of re-
" ligious worſhip; they will do you more
" miſchief, being puniſhed, than they can
" if away. A wicked Prieſt is the worſt
" of men. But, will it be ſaid that we
" ſhould not perſecute the Prieſts? I an-
" ſwer, that to puniſh is not to perſecute.
" Martyrs are made only when holy men,
" or ſincere enthuſiaſts, are puniſhed. The
" enemies of our Conſtitution are covetous
" hypocrites. The Prieſts are in general as
" baſe as they are vindictive. In clearing the
" kingdom of them, you will not increaſe
" the ſtrength of the Emigrants. Hence-
" forth all pacification is fruitleſs. Fana-

" taciſm

" taciſm cannot breathe the ſame air that li-
" berty does: the monſter is already wounded
" by Philoſophy. The whole world will
" applaud your triumph. The Prieſts have
" ſold Heaven to Guilt. Strike this claſs
" of men with vigour. I have demonſtrated
" the juſtice of this meaſure—I will now
" prove the policy of it. A great Revolu-
" tion has taken place in France, but it is
" not terminated; the *creative criſis* is
" over, *the protective criſis* begins. It coſt
" the Engliſh fifty years of calamity before
" they obtained the phantom of liberty they
" boaſt ſo much of. True and complete
" liberty is not to be purchaſed but with
" rivers of blood. Look at the Low Coun-
" tries, at Switzerland, and at America.
" Do you think that the French Revolu-
" tion, the moſt aſtoniſhing the ſun ever
" ſhone upon,—a Revolution, which ſud-
" denly ſnatches from Deſpotiſm his iron
" ſceptre, from Ariſtocracy its rods, and
" from Theocracy its golden mines; which
" roots up the feodal oak, ſtrikes with
" lightning the parliamentary cypreſs, over-
" turns the pedeſtal of nobility, diſarms
" perſecution, tears the monk's gown,
" ſtifles chicanery, and deſtroys all tenures;

" which is perhaps about to compel every
" Crown to bow before the laws, and to
" ſpread happineſs throughout the world—
" do you think that ſuch a Revolution will
" be effected peaceably? No, no; there
" muſt be a *denouement* to the French Re-
" volution. Take it then boldly into your
" own hands before enthuſiaſm cools; an-
" ticipate its progreſs if you would direct
" it. If you give Penury time to perceive
" its rags, you will perhaps no longer have it
" in your power; we are now no longer what
" we were in the firſt year of liberty; pri-
" vate concerns wean the Citizens from the
" public intereſt. Call for ſentences of
" death—let fall the ſword of the law—
" fight battles—mow down all in your
" way by your victories. It is at the dawn-
" ing of a rebellion that you ſhould be de-
" ciſive. Fortunately, *Louis* XVI. uſed
" none of theſe means, or we ſhould not
" now have been here; but the nation
" would have been ſtill bending beneath
" the yoke. Let the nonjuring Prieſts
" then, againſt whom there is any com-
" plaint, be all driven from the kingdom;
" and if thoſe complaints are ſupported by
" proofs, let them be condemned to death.

" This

"This rigorous meaſure employed by Deſ-
" potiſm would be a crime, but is an act
" of juſtice when dictated by Neceſſity, and
" exerciſed by the real ſovereign, the peo-
" ple. It will cauſe blood to flow: I know
" it; but much more will flow if you do
" not adopt it. You will be the firſt vic-
" tims: you will find yourſelf expoſed to
" every attack. The law is my God; I
" have no other—I want no other."

The greateſt applauſes were laviſhed on this ſpeech, or rather, on theſe blaſphemies and ſanguinary vociferations, the object of which was, to prepare the public for the atrocious decree intended againſt the non-juring Prieſts. The Aſſembly being reſolved that this buſineſs ſhould meet with no more delays, ſeparated the United Committees, whom they had charged with it, into four diviſions, and ordered that each of theſe diviſions ſhould, in the courſe of two days, preſent them with a plan for a decree.

Theſe different plans were reported in the Sitting of the 16th of November. They were all compoſed in the ſame ſpirit as the ſpeech of *Iſnard*, and therefore the Aſſembly had no embarraſſment but that of choice. They fixed upon the ſevereſt,

37557

which they termed the wiſeſt; and, after violent debates, frequently interrupted, which protracted this diſcuſſion through four Sittings, in which all moderate opinions were turned into ridicule or rejected with indignation, it was decreed; That all who had not taken the oath preſcribed by the decree of the 27th of November preceding, ſhould, within a certain time, appear before the Municipality of the place where they reſide, and take the Civic Oath in the terms preſcribed by the Conſtitution, and ſubſcribe their names to the minutes made of their compliance; after which time, each Municipality ſhould be required to tranſmit to the Directory of the Department a liſt of the Eccleſiaſtics who had taken the Oath, and of thoſe who had refuſed to take it; that the former ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all the rights they enjoyed by the preceding decrees, and that the latter ſhould not in future be ſuffered to receive, demand, or obtain any penſion or ſupport from the public treaſury; and that they ſhould, from their refuſal to take the Oath, be conſidered as ſuſpected of rebellion againſt the law, and of evil deſigns againſt their country, and as ſuch, more particularly under the inſpection of

of all the conſtituted authorities, and recommended to their vigilance; that every Eccleſiaſtic, who ſhould have refuſed to take the Civic Oath, or, having taken, ſhould retract it, who ſhould be found in a commune where there ſhall happen any diſturbances for which religious opinions ſhall be the pretence, may be ſent away proviſionally from the place where they happen, but not to prevent his denunciation before the Courts according to the nature of the circumſtances; that in caſe of diſobedience to the order of the Directory of the Department for his removal, he ſhall be brought to trial, and be committed to priſon in the chief place of the Department, for a ſpace of time not exceeding twelve months; and that every Eccleſiaſtic, who ſhould be found guilty of exciting diſobedience to the Law and the Conſtituted Authorities, ſhall be impriſoned for two years.

On the laſt clauſe reſted the greateſt difficulty. It was ſaid—"If you impriſon "the Prieſts, you will ſoon ſee their pa- "riſhioners making pilgrimages to the "priſons; by baniſhing them from the "kingdom, you will prevent this abuſe, "and avoid the danger of leaving theſe

" greedy wolves in the midſt of the people."
" If you baniſh the Prieſts," replied the advocates for impriſonment, " it is poſſible " that the neighbouring Powers might, in " return for our preſent, ſend us by the " ſame means very worthleſs Prieſts, and " certainly we have no need of them."

The Aſſembly, between theſe two opinions, ſupported on either ſide with equal heat, were at a loſs what to reſolve, when a new motion, which was regarded as a ray of light, obviated all difficulties, and fully met the wiſhes of the Jacobin party. The purport of it was, to make the diſturbing Prieſts ſuffer both exile and impriſonment; that is to ſay, to ſend them to a priſon, diſtant at leaſt ten leagues from their homes; and it was accordingly decided that they ſhould be confined in the priſon of the principal place of the Department.

By thus marking out the Prieſts who refuſed to take the Oath, as diſturbers and ſuſpicious perſons, the Aſſembly expoſed them to the animadverſions of the people; and by recommending them to the attention of the Conſtituted Authorities, they devoted them inevitably to the intolerant ſpirit and perſecutions of the greateſt enemies of religion.

religion. It was, in fact, notorious, that in almoſt all the towns throughout the kingdom, thoſe Conſtituted Authorities were compoſed of the moſt violent members of the Jacobin Clubs; and it is remarkable, that this barbarous decree was only founded on vague and unproved denunciations of pretended revolts excited by the Prieſts: they were charged with every where diſturbing the public peace; but theſe denunciations never named a ſingle one of them, or ſtated formally any poſitive fact of diſobedience and rebellion.

At this time the Sections of the Capital were aſſembled to chooſe a Mayor to ſucceed M. *Bailly*, who had reſigned. The votes were divided, but very unequally, between M. *de la Fayette* and *Petion*. The former was oppoſed, not only by the Royaliſts, who reſented his conduct towards the Royal Family ſince their return from Varennes, but by the Jacobins and the loweſt claſs of active citizens, who imputed to him the firing upon them in the *Champ-de-Mars* as a crime never to be forgiven. He had in his favour only the friends he had preſerved in the National Guard, and the remains of the Conſtitutional party, which

was

was growing weaker every day. The Court itſelf, deteſting M. *de la Fayette*, and fearing above all his ambition and intrigues, openly favoured *Petion*. "M. *de la Fay-* "*ette*," ſaid the Queen to me on this occaſion, "only deſires to be Mayor of Paris "with the view of being ſoon after *Mayor* "*of the Palace*. *Petion* is a Jacobin and "Republican, but he is a fool, incapable of "ever being the leader of a party; he will "be a nullity of a Mayor: beſides, it is poſ- "ſible that, the knowledge of the intereſt we "take in his election, may bring him over "to the King. What do you think of it?" My reply was, that I was too little acquainted with either, to judge whether M. *de la Fayette* or *Petion* would be leſs hurtful to the King in the office of Mayor; and that I was very ſorry not to ſee ſome other candidate for it, whoſe ambition was not to be dreaded, and who was not only incapable of being the leader of an Anti-royaliſt party, but of being the inſtrument of it. This was in fact the light in which *Petion*'s election appeared to me much more alarming than that of M. *de la Fayette*, whom I was far from ſuſpecting of ſuch extravagant ambitious views as were imputed to him by the Court.

Court. However that might be, out of ten thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two votes, there appeared for *Petion* ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight; for M. *de la Fayette*, three thouſand one hundred and twenty-ſix; for M. *Freteau*, one hundred and eighty-one; for M. *D'Ormeſſon*, one hundred and fifty-eight; for *Robeſpierre*, one hundred; &c. &c.

At the time of this change in the Municipality of Paris, ſeveral alterations alſo took place in the Miniſtry. The Department of Foreign Affairs having been refuſed by M. *Barthelemy*, M. *de Leſſart*, who, ſince the reſignation of M. *de Montmorin*, had diſcharged the duties of it, was finally appointed to remain in it; and the Department of the Interior, rendered vacant by his appointment, was given to M. *Cahier de Gerville*. This gentleman was originally by profeſſion an advocate of the Parliament, where, with talents above mediocrity, he had gained eſteem by his honeſty and attention to buſineſs. He was, at the time of his appointment, Deputy-Solicitor of the Commune, and, as ſuch, very popular. This induced the Keeper of the Seals, his old and intimate friend, to propoſe his nomination

nomination as a certain means of obtaining a greater degree of popularity for the King and his Council*. He was perhaps in the right; but, unfortunately, all thoſe little baits for popularity not leading to any act of energy, loſt their effect as ſoon as the moment of enthuſiaſm was paſſed. If on the different occaſions in which the Aſſembly committed themſelves, by manifeſt infringements of the Conſtitution, the King had been able to reſolve on meaſures of a very vigorous nature, it would doubtleſs have been uſeful and prudent to have preceded thoſe meaſures with ſome popular expedient; but it was evidently more hurtful than advantageous to multiply thoſe expedients without an object, without any ſcheme for rendering them uſeful; for then the King always purchaſed this momentary popularity at the expence of his dignity, and of the little power he had remaining.

A Government without energy is always a Government without power. It is ſtrength alone that the people reſpect, and they have no confidence but in that: in revolutions they are always ſeen to ſide with

* See Private Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 258.

the

the ſtrongeſt. This is the reaſon that in mobs and popular meetings, the majority are almoſt always in favour of the ſpeaker whoſe lungs are ſtrongeſt, and whoſe opinions are the moſt violent.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

The King determines to refuſe his Sanction to the Decree againſt the Prieſts—Expedients of the Jacobins to intimidate him to give it. Addreſs from the Directory of the Loir and the Cher—The King in going out of his Apartments ſtopped by a Centinel—A Letter from Profeſſor Delatre to M. de Calonne, and another from M. de Querlonde to the Mayor of Thionville denounced — A Deputation from the Markets to the Aſſembly—Diſcuſſion of Meaſures to be taken againſt the Germanic Confederacy — Iſnard's Speech—Vaublanc's Speech to the King—

His

His Majeſty determines to form the Conſtitutional Guard—M. de Leſſart denounced by the Abbé Fauchet—Letter from the Empreſs of Ruſſia to Mareſchal Broglio—Politics of the Cabinet of Vienna reſpecting a War—The Declaration of the Emperor of Germany to the Courts of Europe.

THE non-conforming Biſhops then at Paris were convinced that the King, who had already manifeſted the deepeſt regret for having ſanctioned former decrees againſt the Clergy, would be happy to have motives and means for refuſing his ſanction to that now paſſed againſt the Prieſts. They therefore determined to draw up a memorial againſt it, and applied to me to preſent it to his Majeſty. I had a private correſpondence with the Biſhop of Uſes on this ſubject; for at that time a Miniſter could have no public communication with a Biſhop without awakening ſuſpicion againſt himſelf.

The King appeared much affected by this memorial, and ſaid to me, with the energy which he ever ſhewed in the cauſe of Religion: "They may be aſſured I never will

"ſanction

" ſanction it: but the difficulty is to know " whether I ought ſimply to refuſe my " aſſent, and to aſſign the motives of my " refuſal, or to temporize, on account of " the preſent circumſtances. Endeavour," continued he, " to diſcover the opinion of " your colleagues, before the ſubject is " mentioned in the Council." I remarked to the King, that he was not, by the Conſtitution, obliged to aſſign the motives of his refuſal; and that, although the Aſſembly ought to be pleaſed to ſee his Majeſty give up that important prerogative, they were ſo ill diſpoſed, that they might refuſe to liſten to his motives, and might even reproach him with this breach of the Conſtitution, as if it were a violation of his oath; that to temporize was only a diſplay of weakneſs, and would encourage the Aſſembly to become ſtill more enterpriſing; and beſides, that a ſimple negative was at once more ſure and more proper. The affair was diſcuſſed the day after, at a meeting of the Miniſters, and the indiſpenſable neceſſity of a negative was acknowledged by all.

At the following Council, this meaſure was propoſed to the King, who adopted it with

with extreme ſatisfaction. But this interval of happineſs was interrupted by the propoſal which the Miniſter of the Home Department made to him, of appointing Conſtitutional Prieſts to the Queen's Chapel and his own, as the ſureſt means of ſilencing the malecontents, and convincing the people of his ſincere attachment to the Conſtitution. "No, Sir, no," ſaid the King, in a firm voice; "let no one ſpeak "to me upon this ſubject; ſince liberty of "worſhip is made general, certainly I ought "to enjoy it as well as others."

The warmth with which he pronounced theſe words aſtoniſhed us, and ſilenced M. *Cahier de Gerville.*

The Jacobins, foreſeeing that the King would be diſinclined to ſanction the decree againſt the Prieſts, flattered themſelves that that they could intimidate him to it. They immediately had recourſe for that purpoſe to the common expedient of ſending copies of petitions and addreſſes of a moſt threatening nature to a certain number of Departments, to be ſigned and ſent back to the Aſſembly. That ſent on this occaſion by the Directory of the Department of the Loire and the Cher, and which the Aſſem-

bly had the aſſurance to applaud repeatedly in the Sitting of the 24th of November, ſhows to what a degree of inſubordination and arrogance the New Conſtituted Authorities had already arrived in reſpect to the King: the following is an extract from it.

" Legiſlators! your decree reſpecting the " Emigrants cover you with glory. We " will not declaim againſt *the King's veto*, " ſince the Conſtitution has given to one man " the right of oppoſing the will of twenty- " four millions. The Executive Power " has now taken upon itſelf the moſt terrible " reſponſibility, and will be the cauſe of the " diſaſters which may be the conſequence " of its refuſal. Your wiſdom again " appears in prudent meaſures againſt the " ſeditious. Shall this decree alſo be ſwept " away by a fatal *Veto?* We hope that on a " ſecond refuſal you will take a firm attitude " towards the Executive Power; that you " will ſuffer no more of its unconſtitutional " proclamations; and that you will circum- " ſcribe it within the bounds marked out " by the law. Whether it be from care- " leſſneſs, inability, or treachery, the Execu- " tive Power reſiſts the power of the nation, " and we may ſay with one of your " members,

members, *that the kingdom will be peaceable as ſoon as the King and his "Miniſters chuſe it.* This frankneſs will, "no doubt, diſpleaſe *the Miniſterialiſts*, "who have taken the place of the *Coté "droit* of the Conſtituent Aſſembly: but "while we are twining your laurels, we "devote them to the indignation of their "cotemporaries, and of poſterity. May "this declaration call forth their remon- "ſtrances, to ſhow them ſo much the more "clearly."

An addreſs in the ſame ſtyle, followed by ſix pages of ſignatures, and dated at Toulouſe the 24th of November, was read in the Aſſembly, on the Monday following, in the evening Sitting. Of this addreſs, the date was ſufficient to prove the forgery; for at that time the poſt coming directly from Toulouſe to Paris, did not arrive till the ſixth day, and always ſet out on Wedneſday: that which ſet out on Thurſday did not arrive at Paris till the Thurſday following, going through Bordeaux or Lyons. It is therefore more than probable, that this piece had been fabricated at Paris, but nobody made the obſervation, its inſolence ſupplied the place of authenticity, and it was as much

applauded as the addreſs from the Depart-ment of the Loire and the Cher! This was not the only ſpring ſet in motion by the Jacobins: they ſpread a report through the Fauxbourgs, which was repeated in all their confidential papers, that the King meant to ſet out to join the Emigrants, who, it was ſaid, were only waiting his arrival to enter the kingdom with an armed force. Under this pretext, a counterſign was given by a corporal on guard at the Palace, in conſequence of which the King going out of his apartment at nine o'clock at night, was ſtopped by a ſentinel. This counterſign was found to be a falſe one, and the corporal who gave it, was ſent to priſon for ſome days: but the circumſtance contributed to make the people believe all the abſurdities detailed on the pretended ſcheme for the King's departure*.

A letter found in a boat going to Tréves, and directed to M. *de Calonne*, on the 22d of October, by *Delatre* the profeſſor, was denounced to the Aſſembly, at this period, as a proof of the enrolments making by the Princes, of the aſſembling of the Emigrants,

* See the letter from the Miniſter of the Interior, Appendix, No. 4.

of

of the protection afforded them by foreign powers, of conſpiracies againſt the country, &c. The only foundation for theſe affected alarms, was a ſentence in this letter, wherein he recommends his ſon to the protection of M. *de Calonne,* expreſſing a wiſh common to all good Frenchmen. "May the "plans you have conceived," ſaid he, "be "ſoon affected for the deliverance of our "auguſt monarch, and the re-eſtabliſhment "of order and tranquillity throughout the "kingdom." It was not eaſy to comprehend, nor did the denouncer (*Merlin de Thionville*) explain how this letter could have been found in a boat going to Tréves. It was more natural to preſume, that *Delatre* had not ſent it off, and that it had been ſtolen from him; as his ſon, who was to have been the bearer of it, had not gone out of France, and was confined to his bed with a broken arm, which had been the conſequence of a fall from his horſe. But the Aſſembly did not look ſo cloſely; *Delatre* was brought to the bar, where on his barely acknowledging the writing and ſignature of the letter, it was decreed, that he ſhould be arraigned before the Supreme National Court for treaſon againſt the nation.

Scarcely was this decree paſſed, when *Merlin* denounced another letter, bearing the poſt mark of Luxemburg, written to the mayor of Thionville by M. *de Querlonde*, the commanding officer of a body of Emigrants at Grevernmak, in which *he highly condemned the inſults that had been offered to two inhabitants of Thionville, and declared that he would endeavour to find out the authors in order to puniſh them.* This letter was far from manifeſting a hoſtile diſpoſition, but it proved the exiſtence of a body of Emigrants aſſembled; and nothing more was wanting to induce the moſt violent motions againſt the Princes, their agents, friends, and adherents, againſt the Cardinal *de Rohan*, M. *de Calonne*, &c. &c. The old and terrible Committee of Enquiry was re-eſtabliſhed forthwith (November 24), under the title of *Committee of inſpection*, to which all theſe motions were referred. They were renewed on the following days, and no doubt it was to increaſe or applaud their energy, that a deputation of the market people were allowed to appear at the bar, and admitted to the honours of the Sitting. Their ſpeaker addreſſed the following harangue to the Preſident:

"Legiſlators!

" Legiſlators! the enemies of the country diſcharge from their impure mouths, moſt " atrocious calumnies againſt you and your " admirable laws; but do not let them think " they deceive us; we have ſworn to main- " tain the Conſtitution; and if it is neceſſary " to defend you, we will ſupport you with " our bodies and luſty arms."

After this harangue had received its full meaſure of applauſe, the Aſſembly went into the diſcuſſion of the ſteps to be taken in reſpect to the members of the Germanic Confederacy, who tolerated the enliſting and aſſembling of the Emigrants; and whether it was that the Aſſembly were willing to ſhow the market people that they were worthy of repreſenting them, or that they thought it an attention due to them to ſpeak in their preſence a language they could comprehend, they ſo completely adopted their ſtyle, that one might have ſuppoſed their ſpeaker ſtill haranguing. " The Emi- " grants," ſaid an Alſacian Deputy, one *Rews*, " are aſſembling and enliſting, under the " command of M. *Condé*, *the heretofore* " *Prince*."—" There are but three church- " men who appear to aſſiſt their plots

" openly; *My Lord the Archbiſhop of Ma-*
" *ence*, who is raiſing an army of 4000
" men, which the people of Mayence are
" fooliſh enough to furniſh;' *My Lord the*
" *Elector of Treves*, who provides them
" with 2000 men; and *My Lord René-*
" *Edward, Cardinal Prince de Rohan*,
" who, deducting the *Brigands* whom he
" has the honour to command in chief,
" furniſhes them with fifty men, allowed
" him by the laws of the German Empire."
—" Theſe will not be hordes of barbarians,
" but ſoldiers of the church armed with
" beads, who ſhall ſend forth before them
" carnage and death---"—" It would be
" unworthy the Majeſty of a great nation to
" ſuffer longer this operatical farce, which
" tires our patience: a private perſon may
" deſpiſe theſe ſkipping bullies, but a great
" nation ſhould puniſh raſh fools, who
" ſhow a diſpoſition to ſtrike at their laws.
" Do not truſt to the ſlumber of Deſpots---'
" Let the Executive power cauſe it to be ſig-
" nified to the Electors of Mayence and
" Treves, that if they do not, in the courſe
" of a fortnight, put an end to the enliſting
" going on in their ſtates, France will make
" them repent it." It was accordingly
moved,

moved, that a deputation of twenty-four members ſhould be ſent to the King, to expreſs to him the anxiety of the Aſſembly on the dangers of the country, and to requeſt him to call upon the Electors of Mayence and Treves, to put an end to the inliſting, and to diſperſe the bodies aſſembling on their territories in the courſe of a fortnight. The Miniſters were not ſpared in theſe debates; "*The apathy and torpor of* "*the Executive power are*," ſaid one of the ſpeakers (*Rhults*), "*the ſole cauſe of the* "*aſſembling of all thoſe bodies**."

The debate on the meaſures to be taken reſpecting the Electors of Mayence and Treves, relative to the aſſembling of the Emigrants, was reſumed with violence in the Sitting of the 29th of November. On that day M. *de Leſſart* had gone to the Aſſembly, in order to give an account of the ſtate in which he left the Department of the

* At this juncture, I very opportunely received the moſt ſatisfactory news reſpecting the negociation with the Dey of Algiers, by whom France was threatened with a rupture, but which was ſo ſpeedily diverted as to aſtoniſh the Aſſembly. I thought it unneceſſary to inſert an account of this event here, having related it in my Private Memoirs, Vol. II, page 31.

Interior,

Interior, and I went to meet him as I had promiſed. When I entered, the fury *Iſnard* was in the tribune, making the hall reſound with the moſt horrible vociferations, and the louder he roared the more was he applauded. " Our enemies," ſaid he, " are the enemies " of the Conſtitution, they are contriving " to reſtore by the ſword and famine the " parliaments and nobility, and to increaſe " the perogatives of the King; of a man, " whoſe will can paralize that of the whole " nation; of a man who conſumes thirty " millions, while millions of citizens are " in diſtreſs. They wiſh to reſtore the " Parliaments where juſtice was ſold; they " wiſh to reſtore the nobility, who, in their " inſolent and barbarous pride, think citi- " zens are not men. Do they wiſh to re- " ſtore the nobility? Then ſhould we, from " the ſummit of this tribune, electrify all " the French. All, pouring out their gold " with one hand, and graſping their ſteel " with the other, ſhould fight this Caſt, and " compel it to endure the torture of equality. " Let us riſe on this occaſion to the full " height of our truſt; let us ſpeak to the " Miniſters, to the King, to all Europe, " with the firmneſs that ſuits us. Let us

" tell

"tell our Miniſters, that hitherto the nation has not been well ſatisfied with the conduct of any of them: that henceforth they have only to chooſe between public gratitude and the vengeance of the laws, and that by the word *reſponſibility* we underſtand *death*. Let us tell the King that his intereſt is to defend the Conſtitution, that his crown depends on that ſacred palladium; that he reigns only by appointment from the people, and for the people; that the nation is his ſovereign, and that he is ſubject to the law. Let us tell Europe, that if the French people once draw the ſword, they will throw away the ſcabbard, nor ever ſheath it, but crowned with the laurels of victory; and that if in ſpite of their power and bravery they ſhould be overcome in defending the cauſe of liberty, their enemies ſhould have only dead bodies to reign over:—let us tell Europe, that if her cabinets engage Kings in a war againſt nations, we will engage nations in a war *ad internecionem* againſt Kings: let us tell her that all battles which nations fight by order of Deſpots——" Here the orator ſatiated with applauſe, and fearing that thoſe by which

which he was interrupted in the middle of this ſentence would weaken the effect of it, cried out in a fit of paſſion, which was taken for a tranſport of the pureſt patriotiſm, "No clapping, no clapping, but pay atten-" tion to my enthuſiaſm; it is that of " liberty—let us, then, tell Europe, that all " battles which nations fight by the order of " deſpots, are like blows given to each " other in the dark by two friends ſet on by " ſome perfidious inſtigator: let the light " appear, they throw down their arms, " embrace, and chaſtiſe him who deceived " them. In like manner, if at the time " when the armies of the enemies are con-" tending with ours, the light of philoſophy " ſhould ſtrike their eyes, the nations would " embrace in the face of dethroned tyrants, " of the comforted earth, of delighted " heaven;—let us tell her in ſhort, that ten " millions of French, glowing with the flame " of liberty, armed with the ſword of " juſtice, with the pen of reaſon, and with " eloquence, can, if provoked, change the " face of the world, and make all tyrants " tremble on their thrones of clay—"

The Aſſembly did not content themſelves with applauding this ſpeech for almoſt as long

long a time as the ſpeaker had taken to deliver or rather to bellow it; they ordered it to be printed and ſent into all the Departments. The report I have made of it ſuffices to give an exact idea of the progreſs which the revolutionary delirium had made at this period.

The reſult of theſe debates was a decree, by which the Aſſembly ordered, that a deputation of twenty-four of the members ſhould immediately wait upon the King, to communicate to him the anxiety of the Legiſlative Body on the dangers of the Country. The Deputy *Vaublanc* drew up the plan of the ſpeech to be addreſſed to his Majeſty. It was unanimouſly adopted, and the author was charged to go and deliver it at the head of the Deputation. It was as follows:

" Sire! The National Aſſembly had " ſcarcely caſt their eyes on the ſituation of " the kingdom, when they perceived that " the troubles which ſtill agitated it have " their ſource in the criminal preparations " making by the French Emigrants. This " audacity is upheld by the German Princes, " who forget the treaties exiſting between " them and France, and who affect not to " know,

" know, that it is to this Empire they owe
" the treaty of Weſtphalia, by which their
" rights and ſafety are guaranteed. Theſe
" hoſtile preparations, theſe menaces of
" invaſion, require forces to be kept on foot,
" who conſume immenſe ſums, which the
" nation would with joy pay into the
" hands of its creditors. It is your part,
" Sire, to put an end to them; it is your
" part to addreſs the foreign powers in a
" language becoming the King of the
" French. Tell them, that wherever pre-
" parations are ſuffered againſt France,
" France can ſee only enemies; that we will
" religiouſly keep the oath of making no
" conqueſt; that we offer them good neigh-
" bourhood, and the inviolable friendſhip
" of a free and powerful people; that we
" will reſpect their laws, their cuſtoms,
" their conſtitutions; but that we expect
" that ours ſhall be reſpected; tell them, in
" fine, that if the princes of Germany perſiſt
" in favouring preparations directed againſt
" the French, we will carry among them,
" not fire and ſword, but liberty. It is for
" them to eſtimate what the awaking of
" nations may be. In the two years that
" the patriotic French have been perſecuted

" near

near the frontiers, and that the rebels have there found reſources, what ambaſſador has ſpoken as he ought in your name? Not any.

"Had the French, who were driven "from their country by the revocation "of the edict of Nantz, aſſembled in "arms upon the frontiers; and had they "been protected by the Princes of Germany, "Sire, we aſk you what would have been "the conduct of *Louis* XIV.? Would he "have ſuffered theſe aſſemblings? Would "he have ſuffered the ſuccours given by "Princes, who, under the name of allies, "act as enemies? What he would have "done for his authority, may your Majeſty "do for the ſafety of the empire, and the "maintenance of the Conſtitution! Sire, "your intereſt, your dignity, the greatneſs "of the inſulted nation, all preſcribe a dif-"ferent language from that of negociation. "The nation expects from you forcible de-"clarations addreſſed to the Upper and "Lower Circles of the Rhine, to the Elec-"tors of Treves and Mayence, and to the "Biſhop of Spires. Let them be ſuch, "that the hordes of Emigrants may be im-"mediately diſperſed. Fix a ſhort period,

"beyond

" beyond which no dilatory answer shall
" be received. Let your declaration be sup-
" ported by the marching of the forces en-
" trusted to you, and let the nation know
" her friends and her enemies. By this
" illustrious conduct shall we know the
" defender of the Constitution. You will
" thus secure the tranquillity of the empire
" which is inseparable from your own, and
" you will accelerate the day of national pro-
" sperity, when peace shall restore order
" and the reign of the Laws, and when your
" happiness will be thoroughly united with
" that of all the French."

To this speech the King replied in these words: " I will give the greatest considera-
" tion to the message from the National
" Assembly. You know that I have neg-
" lected nothing for securing the public
" tranquillity at home, for maintaining the
" constitution, and causing it to be respected
" abroad."

The audacity of the Jacobins, their manœuvres, their plots, and above all, the preponderating influence possessed by that faction in the Assembly, gave the King great uneasiness, but did not weaken the resolution taken by his Majesty to refuse his sanction

ſanction to the decree concerning the Prieſts who had taken the New Oath. It was, nevertheleſs, prudent to prevent or counteract, by ſome ſtriking act of popularity, the clamours and ſeditious manœuvres that might be the conſequence of this ſtep of religious energy. It was for this reaſon that the King determined, according to a plan propoſed by M. *de Leſſart*, to take this opportunity of declaring his intention of immediately forming his Conſtitutional Guard, and of compoſing it of perſons taken partly from the troops of the line, and partly from the National Guards throughout the kingdom. M. *de Leſſart* wrote in conſequence to all the Directories of the Departments, deſiring them, on the part of his Majeſty, to chooſe for him three perſons whom they could depend upon for honeſty and morals, and alſo for attachment to the Conſtitution and to the perſon of the King. The end of this meaſure would have failed, had not the Department of Paris been complimented with a greater ſhare in this ſelection for the King's new guard; it was therefore decided, that the forty-eight battalions of the Pariſian National Guard ſhould each furniſh two perſons to be choſen by the Directory of the Department.

Theſe arrangements, which were made known to the public by the inſertion of M. *de Leſſart*'s letters in all the papers, certainly produced a very good effect. Still, as it was chiefly at Paris that the King ſtood in need of popularity, it would have been much more uſeful that nearly the whole portion of his Conſtitutional Guard, to be taken from the National Guard, ſhould have been choſen from that of Paris. The choice might, without any inconvenience, have been committed to the Directory of the Department; for the Conſtitutionaliſts, of whom it was entirely compoſed, were all well-meaning men, and really devoted to the King; and they ſhould not have been confined to take an equal number from each battalion, as there were ſome in which only ill-diſpoſed people were to be found. It is not to be doubted, that if there had been in the King's Guard four or five hundred men belonging to the beſt Bourgeois families of the capital, and ſelected among the tradeſmen, artificers, mechanics, and manufacturers, having the command of numerous workhouſes, popular inſurrections would have been much rarer and leſs alarming at the Palace; the Aſſembly would not have dared to reſolve on the diſbanding

diſbanding of the King's Guard ſo lightly as they did; they would not have been ſo imprudent as to paſs a decree which would have violently irritated and turned againſt them the principal families of the *Tiers-etat* in the capital*.

All the meaſures we took to render the King and his Council popular exaſperated the Jacobin faction more and more. Whatever was the ſubject of debate before the Aſſembly, the ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche* never failed to ſeaſon their ſpeeches with declamations or groſs inſults directed againſt the Executive Power and the Miniſters. M. *de Leſſart*, who, in their eyes, had

* I made all theſe obſervations to M. *de Leſſart* when he communicated his plan to me, and the event ſoon proved that they were but too juſt. Among the worthleſs people ſent by the Departments, there were ſeveral who, in a few days after their admiſſion into the King's Guard, went and entered themſelves in the club of Jacobins, where they were induced to be continually making the falſeſt denunciations, but the likelieſt to exaſperate the people; and theſe denunciations, which were renewed, and made more or leſs ſerious at pleaſure, became at length the baſis for the fatal decree of the 20th of May following, by which the King's Guard was diſbanded, and the Duke *de Briſſac*, who commanded it, ordered to be tried.

been guilty of propoſing the plan for forming the King's Conſtitutional Guard, was now perſecuted by them with the greateſt inveteracy. He was denounced by the moſt impudent impoſtor in the Aſſembly, the Abbé *Fauchet*, at the Sitting of the 3d of December, as guilty of two acts of high treaſon. "It is time," ſaid this Abbé, "to make a ſtriking example: he has "been guilty of treaſon in the neglect of "his duty, by not ſending the Law of the "27th of September on the public taxes to "the Department of Calvados before the "27th of November; he has been guilty "of treaſon againſt the nation, by defaming to the people the higheſt of the "Conſtituted Authorities, and the proof of "this crime is fixed up at the corner of "every ſtreet. It exiſts in that proclamation ſigned by him, in which it is ſaid, "*that the King has refuſed his ſanction to "a decree, which could not be conſiſtent "with French manners, or the principles "of a free Conſtitution.* Beſides, let us "recollect who the man in queſtion is:— "He has imbibed the ſpirit of ſtock-jobbing from *Necker*, whoſe pupil and friend "he was. He it was who, in the commencement

" mencement of the Revolution, conceived " the plan of ſtarving Paris; and he it is alſo " who has lately done every thing to reduce " France to famine. You heard one of the " King's Commiſſioners who were ſent to " Avignon excuſe himſelf by telling you, that " when he applied to the Miniſter for troops, " the anſwer given was, that he could ſend " none, as they were marching to the fron- " tiers:—a falſe pretence; for the National " Guards deſigned for the frontiers are not " yet ready to march, and ſtill the Comtat " was left to cut-throats and murderers; " the Glaciers were covered with dead " bodies. Let this prevaricating Miniſter " then for his puniſhment breathe the in- " fected vapours of that cavern of death. " But the Conſtitution will triumph, and " the traitors ſhall periſh. I move, that M. " *de Leſſart* be immediately ordered to the " bar to be examined on all theſe facts, which " he cannot deny, and that a decree of ac- " cuſation be paſſed againſt him."

All theſe atrocious invectives were highly applauded by the galleries, and ſeveral members of the Aſſembly deſired that the Abbé *Fauchet*'s ſpeech ſhould be printed; but that was not ordered, and the denunciation was

referred to the Committee of Legiſlation, whom the Aſſembly charged to propoſe without delay a plan of conduct to be adopted on ſo important an occaſion. M. *de Leſſart* being informed of this denunciation, went to the Aſſembly before the cloſe of the Sitting, where he ſaid, that, to juſtify his actions and principles, he ſhould wait till he learned from the public papers what he was accuſed of. "In the mean time," added he, "I muſt obſerve with reſpect to "ſubſiſtence, that there is no effort I have not "made, no caution I have not taken, both "to prevent the exportation of grain, and "to keep up at home the free circulation "of it, unfortunately too much clogged. "In the courſe of my management and "correſpondences, I have had tranſactions "with ſeveral members of the Aſſembly: "I call upon them to bear witneſs for "me."

It is true, anſwered ſeveral voices, which were followed by ſome clapping: the *Coté-gauche* murmured, and, after ſome minutes of agitation, the Aſſembly broke up.

The French newſpapers, and ſome German gazettes, daily kept up the uneaſineſs of

of the people and the rage of the Jacobins, by the moſt exaggerated accounts reſpecting the number of the Emigrants; their emoluments, the preparations made by the Princes, their purchaſes of arms, proviſions, forage, clothing, the millions of money poured into their treaſury by all the Powers of Europe, and the thouſands of ſoldiers to be furniſhed by each German Prince. It was ſaid, in the moſt poſitive terms, that they were to enter France in the ſpring at the head of 200,000 men*. All theſe articles of news were ſupported by citing the vauntings, whether true or falſe, of ſome Emigrants, letters dated at Frankfort, Worms, the Banks of the Rhine, &c. and the ſecurity that might be inferred from the pretended pleaſures of the Court of Coblentz, where the Princes were eſtabliſhed with *the flower of the Emigration.* A letter, written by the Empreſs of Ruſſia to Mareſchal Broglio, was inſerted in all the papers as a clear proof of a coalition of the moſt formidable Powers againſt France. The contents of this remarkable letter were as follows:—

* See the Moniteur of the months of November and December 1791.

" St. Peterſburg, October 29, 1791.

" Mareſchal Duke *de Broglie*,

" I addreſs myſelf to you, in order " to make known to the exp[illegible] and " perſecuted French nobility, e[illegible] unſhaken " in their fidelity and attachm[illegible] to their " Sovereign, how ſenſible I am [illegible] ſen- " timents expreſſed for me in th[illegible] letter of " the 20th of September laſt. [illegible] moſt " illuſtrious of your Kings took a pride " in calling himſelf the firſt gentleman of " his kingdom. *Henry* IV. prided him- " ſelf particularly on that title;—it was no " empty honour that he committed to your " anceſtors: by that he taught them, that " without nobility there is no monarchy, " and that their intereſt to defend and " maintain it was inſeparable from his. " They underſtood this leſſon, and were " laviſh of their blood and exertions to " re-eſtabliſh their maſter's rights and their " own. Do you, their worthy deſcendants, " to whom the unhappy ſtate of your coun- " try opens the ſame career, continue to " tread in their ſteps; let the ſame ſpirit " that animated them, and which you ap- " pear to have inherited, ſhine forth in your " actions. Elizabeth ſuccoured *Henry* IV.

who

" who triumphed over the league at the
" head of your anceſtors; that Queen
" is doubtleſs worthy of being a model
" to poſterity, and I will deſerve to be
" compared to her by the perſeverance of
" my ſentiments for the ſame Hero's grand-
" ſons, to whom I have as yet ſhown only
" my good will and intentions. In em-
" bracing the cauſe of Kings in that of your
" Monarch, I but perform the duty of
" the rank I hold upon the earth, and yield
" to the pure dictates of ſincere and diſ-
" intereſted friendſhip for the brothers of
" your King, and to the deſire of ſerving
" as a conſtant ſupport to every faithful
" ſervant of your ſovereign. Such are my
" feelings and intentions; and I have
" charged Count Romanzow to aſſure your
" Princes of them. As there never was a
" greater, juſter, or nobler cauſe, or one
" that deſerved more to call forth the zeal
" and courage of thoſe who have devoted
" themſelves to defend it, I cannot but
" augur an iſſue the moſt ſucceſsful, and
" the moſt conſonant to my own wiſhes.
" With this, I pray God, to have you,
" Mareſchal Duke *de Broglio*, and all the
" French nobility who ſhare your ſenti-
" ments,

" ments, and adhere to your principles,
" in his holy keeping. CATHERINE."

The ſtyle of this letter, and the brilliant promiſes it contained, were, no doubt, well calculated to keep up the ſpirit of emigration, and the hopes of the Emigrants: but the Emperor *Leopold*, whoſe conduct was to regulate that of the other Powers, was far from diſplaying ſuch open and chivalrous diſpoſitions as thoſe of Catherine. A war with France formed no part of the views of the Cabinet of Vienna, or, to ſpeak more properly, of thoſe of the old Prince of *Kaunitz*, by whom all its determinations were dictated, and whoſe aſcendency extended to the Emperor himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to make him give up his reſolutions, and even the engagements into which he entered without conſulting him. It was thus that not any of the promiſes made by his Imperial Majeſty to the Count *d'Artois* at Mantua and Pilnitz were fulfilled; allowing, however, that the King's departure for Montmedi was really a ſufficient reaſon for relinquiſhing the plan agreed upon at Mantua, as one of the eſſential conditions of it was that his Majeſty ſhould not leave Paris; whereas the pretended free acceptance of the

Conſtitution

Conſtitution could be no good reaſon for not carrying the declaration of Pilnitz into execution, and particularly as that acceptance was evidently compulſive, by the King's having been put by the Aſſembly to the alternative of accepting the Conſtitution entirely, and without amendment, or of abdicating the Crown. The latter was, notwithſtanding, the pretext given by the Emperor for not proceeding to action, not only to the King's brothers, but to the Powers who were to have entered into the coalition, to whom the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of his Imperial Majeſty were charged to communicate the following declaration*:—

"His Imperial Majeſty informs thoſe "Courts to which he ſent the firſt circular "declaration, dated at Padua, July 6th, "now adding Sweden, Denmark, Holland, "and Portugal, that the ſituation of the "King of France, which gave grounds for "the ſaid circular declaration, being changed,

* The Deputy *Genſonné*, a member of the Diplomatic Committee, procured a copy of this declaration from the office of the Foreign Department, and made it public.

"he

" he thinks he ought to make known his
" preſent opinion to the ſaid Powers. His
" Imperial Majeſty thinks that the King
" of France ſhould be conſidered as free,
" and conſequently his acceptance of the
" Conſtitution, and all the acts which have
" enſued upon it, as valid. He hopes that
" the effect of the ſaid acceptance will be
" to reſtore order in France, and give
" a prevalence to the moderate party
" according to the wiſhes of his moſt
" Chriſtian Majeſty; but, as the King's
" hopes may againſt all appearances be de-
" ceived, and all the diſorders of licentiouſ-
" neſs, and the exceſſes of violence in re-
" gard to the King, may be renewed, his
" Imperial Majeſty thinks that all the
" Powers whom he has addreſſed ought not
" yet to deſiſt from the meaſures concerted
" among them, but to hold themſelves in
" a ſtate of obſervation, and to cauſe their
" reſpective Miniſters at Paris to declare
" that their coalition exiſts, and that they
" will be ready to ſupport in concert on
" every occaſion the rights of the King
" and of the French Monarchy."

The diſpatches from M. *de Noailles*, our Ambaſſador at Vienna, thoſe from our Miniſters

Miniſters at the different Courts of Germany, and, above all, the notes of Prince *Kaunitz*, which the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs laid before the Council, clearly proved that the Cabinet of Vienna, convinced that the Jacobin faction wiſhed for war, was firmly reſolved not to declare it, and to avoid whatever could occaſion it, but at the ſame time to neglect no means of ſupporting it advantageouſly. Hence thoſe encouragements and thoſe ſuccours ſecretly given or promiſed to the Princes at the very time when the aſſembling and inliſting were prohibited by ſtrict orders, which the King was compelled to inſiſt upon, and the execution of which was the leſs preſſed by the Emperor, as the fears raiſed in the Jacobins by the Emigrants, and the perſeverance with which the Aſſembly demanded their diſperſion, ſufficiently indicated the advantages that might be drawn from theſe choſen troops, to whom all the malecontents in the country might flock, ſhould they enter France powerfully ſupported.

I muſt here do Prince *Kaunitz* the juſtice to ſay, that no one had formed a better judgment of the Jacobin faction than he. "Thoſe monſters," ſaid he in one of his notes,

notes, "are not ſufficiently abhorred, ſuffi-
"ciently known; they are not only the ene-
"mies of every religion, and of every
"throne, but it is againſt ſocial order,
"againſt property, and againſt all who have
"property, that they have ſet themſelves,
"for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing every where
"the ſovereignty of robbers."

Such was the opinion alſo of the Emigrant Princes; nor was it againſt their country, but to deliver it from the horrible tyranny of the Jacobins, and to ſave the Monarchy and the King while there was yet time, that they ſolicited ſuccours of the Foreign Powers, and that they called upon and rallied round them all the good French. The ſucceſs of an effort ſo noble and generous entirely depended on the moment of its execution, and it was therefore of the greateſt importance not to give the factious time to prepare themſelves for ſupporting a war, and ſtill leſs the advantage of not declaring it till they had ſucceeded in leading the people aſtray to the degree of making them conſider it as a national war, and indiſpenſable for the preſervation of their independence, their liberty, ſovereignty, &c. Unfortunately, the politics of the Cabinet of Vienna

Vienna did not accord on this point with thoſe of the French Princes; and beſides this, their views, and the ſteps they took, were often thwarted by the private negotiations which the Baron *de Breteuil* carried on without conſulting them, and always by virtue of the powers he had received from the King in 1789, although thoſe powers had been revoked, and never renewed*.

* See the note B at the end of the volume.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

Briſſot's Venality—His Speech on the State of St. Domingo on the breaking out of the Rebellion—Proceedings in the Aſſembly relative to that Iſland—Remarkable Speech, expoſing the general Conduct of the Aſſembly—Addreſs from the Conſtitutional Society of London read—M. Bertrand denounced—Petition from the Directory of the Department of Paris to the King for his VETO *to the Decree againſt the Prieſts—Petitions and Denunciations againſt the Directory—The King goes to the Aſſembly—His Speech relative to the Emigrants and Foreign Powers*

Powers—The Preſident's brief and unmeaning Reply—M. de Narbonne announces his Majeſty's Orders for aſſembling an Army on the Frontiers—Addreſs to the King on his Meaſures—M. de Narbonne increaſes his Popularity, at the Expence of the other Miniſters--He obtains a Supply of Twenty Millions—The Miniſters in general endeavour to gain Popularity by following the Steps of M. de Narbonne.

THE debates which took place in the Aſſembly on the ſubject of the diſaſters at St. Domingo, and the forces neceſſary to be ſent thither, produced nothing more remarkable than *Briſſot's* ſpeech. That revolutionary intriguer, under an air of candour, friendly eaſe, and ſimplicity, to which his enemies were not leſs dupes than his friends, concealed the baſeſt and moſt venal ſoul, and a character the moſt miſchievous and the moſt artful. A furious republican in the Aſſembly, a flaming patriot in his journal, a frantic demagogue at the Jacobin club, his pen and his opinions were not the leſs for ſale to the King, the Miniſters, the Ariſto-

crats, had they thought proper to purchaſe them at the price he ſet upon them. The people of colour in St. Domingo purchaſed his ſervices by means of *Raymond* the Mulatto, and gave him the diſpoſal of very conſiderable ſums, upon which he conſtituted himſelf the leader of the ſociety of the friends of the Blacks, and the manner in which he defended their cauſe was in ſubſtance as follows:

"A dreadful event has lately thrown St. "Domingo into conſternation: a rebellion "of the Blacks, greater than has ever yet "been known, has ſuddenly broken out. "The precautions have been ſo tardy, that "the rebels have had time to form a camp, "and increaſe their numbers. A great "many ſugar eſtates and coffee plantations "have been laid waſte, five or ſix thouſand "Negroes killed, five or ſix hundred Whites "maſſacred. I would fain come at the "ſource of theſe evils, I would fain diſcover "the cauſe of them, and point out the "authors. We muſt at length tear away "the veil. This is not a rebellion of Blacks "only, but it is alſo a rebellion of Whites, "who ſhould be puniſhed; of Whites who "wanted, by rendering themſelves inde-

"pendent,

" pendent, to rid themſelves at once both of " the laws of equality, ſo offenſive to their " pride, and of their debts, which depreſſed " their taſte for diſſipation: theſe are the " points to be proved.

" The inhabitants of St. Domingo are " divided into four claſſes; the White plant- " ers, petty Whites, people of colour, and " ſlaves. The White planters are of two kinds; " thoſe who have no debts, becauſe they " have the greateſt regularity in their affairs; " they are attached to France, and love the " people of colour, whom they regard as " the bulwark of the colonies: thoſe who " are extravagant, proud, and inſolent; they " love neither the laws of France, nor the " people of colour, becauſe theſe having no " debts and being regular in their affairs, " carried the laws into execution: thus the " enemies of the people of colour would be " the enemies of our Conſtitution, even if " equality had not been the baſis of it, even " if, in overthrowing all other kinds of " deſpotiſm, it had reſerved the deſpotiſm " of the white ſkin. This ſpecies of white " planters, in order to continue every tyran- " ny, and to ſhake off their debts, were " ſteering the colonies to an independent

" ariſtocracy. Shall I make them known
" to you by a ſingle trait? One of them
" ſaid to the King, '*Sire, your heart is all*
" *Creole.*' He was in the right, there was
" between his claſs and the courtiers a rela-
" tion of vice, ariſtocracy, and deſpotiſm.
" This claſs of planters have a very great
" influence over the petty Whites, who are
" the refuſe of Europe, and who have no
" hope but in pillaging the people of
" colour. The people of colour, whoſe
" remonſtrances excite ſo much intereſt, are
" the *Tiers-etat* of the colonies. This uſe-
" ful and laborious claſs, compoſed of peo-
" ple who have property, and induſtrious
" men, are friendly to the laws, becauſe
" they are not painful to men of pure in-
" tentions. The laſt claſs is that of the
" ſlaves. I will not paint to you the double
" torture of ſlavery and barbarity. The
" negro had heard the enchanting word of
" *liberty*, and he felt the emotion, for the
" heart of the Black alſo beats for liberty.
" Nevertheleſs, the ſlave remained quiet in his
" fetters, nor would he have attempted to
" break them, but at the inſtigation of
" ſhocking men, whom you will learn to
" know.

" The

"The poſſeſſors of land and the wealthy, "who are deſirous of a good colonial "government, and the people of colour in "whom the ſacred doctrine of equality has "kindled a juſt hope, are delighted with the "revolution. The extravagant and diſſi- "pated planters abhor it. Like thoſe men "whom we have ſeen alternately cringing "at court, and wheedling the people, they "have taken up, laid down, and taken up "again, now the enſigns of deſpotiſm, and "now the National colours. Such is the "party to whom we muſt impute the "misfortunes of the colonies, a party with "whom the counter-revolutioniſts of France "have been making a common cauſe. "Theſe were for tearing the colonies from "France, thoſe for ſhutting them out from "the Revolution. Each party provoked "rebellion, for confuſion was the object "of both: the laſt ſcheme was that of "independence. A ſeparation from the "mother-country being wiſhed, ſuch a "plan would be ſupported by a rebellion of "the negroes. The factious were looking "for independent tyranny; for tyranny is "their delight, and independence would

" ſettle their debts. The ſyſtem of inde-
" pendence is proved not only by their
" ſpeeches, their correſpondence, all their
" actions, but is alſo to be ſeen in all the
" acts of the Colonial Aſſembly. A pretence
" was wanting to call in the Engliſh, and
" it was found in a rebellion of the negroes.
" It broke out on the 22d of Auguſt, juſt at
" the time the news of the King's flight
" reached the iſland: it was merely a mutiny
" of a few workhouſes, and all might have
" been quieted by ſending thither ſome
" troops. But then this rebellion would not
" have been of ſufficient duration, there
" would have been no plauſible grounds for
" ſending to the Governor of Jamaica for
" troops; as if in the beginning there had
" not been more than enough in the coun-
" try to cruſh the inſurrection; as if, in
" caſe they had been inſufficient, there was
" not ſtill the reſource of reſtoring to the
" Mulattoes the arms that had been taken
" from them. Inſtead of adopting theſe
" meaſures which were dictated by common
" ſenſe, the valliant general ſets about en-
" trenching himſelf in the town at the Cape,
" which was already fortified, and drawing up
" rules

" rules for the troops inſtead of leading them
" to battle. He amuſes himſelf with the
" Colonial Aſſembly in writing diſpatches
" to requeſt aſſiſtance from the United States,
" from the Engliſh, and from the Spaniards.
" Theſe ridiculous diſpatches were intended
" to maſk thoſe ſent to Jamaica: they in-
" tended, by applying for aſſiſtance to theſe
" powers, to conceal that they wiſhed it only
" from one. Why was the packet from the
" Governor of St. Domingo to the Miniſter
" delayed for eight days? Why that affec-
" tionate letter from the colony to the Mini-
" ſter of England? Why that lukewarm
" and faint manner in which the Deputies
" of the Colonial Aſſembly repelled the
" ſuſpicions which it was impoſſible not to
" entertain? How is it that Frenchmen,
" when accuſed of being treacherous to their
" country, do not feel their blood boil with
" horror. Inſtead of that virtuous indigna-
" tion, you have only heard a ſtrange juſtifica-
" tion, in which the Aſſembly itſelf is inſulted
" and reproached with ſending out nothing
" but germs of ſedition, a reproach on which
" the title of independence is founded!
" Can that Colonial Aſſembly deny that in
" their Sittings it was ſaid; *France is no*

" *longer any thing to us—why have we*
" *not Bouillé! Why does he not bring the*
" *King to us! It is from here he might*
" *have deſtroyed that Aſſembly which is*
" *making miſery for France.* You have
" been told things that have made you
" ſhudder with horror: but Phalaris ſpoke
" not of his brazen bull, he ſpoke of the
" daggers prepared for him on account of his
" barbarity. You have been told of inſtances
" of ferocity; but *give me*, ſaid *Mirabeau*,
" *brute beaſt, and I will very ſoon make it*
" *a ferocious beaſt.* It was a White who
" firſt threw a Black into a heated oven,
" who cruſhed a ſon to death before the eyes
" of his father, who made a ſlave eat his
" own fleſh. Theſe are the monſters that
" ſhould be charged with the barbarities of
" the Negro rebels. Millions of Indians
" have been ſacrificed on that land of blood!
" you tread at every ſtep on the bones of the
" people whom nature had placed in thoſe
" countries! and yet you ſhudder at the
" recital of the actions of their avengers.
" Heavens! Gentlemen, in this dreadful
" ſtruggle, the crimes of the Whites are the
" more horrible, they ſpring from deſpotiſm;
" thoſe of the Blacks flow from an averſion

" to

" to ſlavery, and the thirſt of a juſt venge-
" ance. Is it philoſophy then that we are
" here to accuſe? *Do we aſk your blood?*
" ſay the Blacks, " no, our language to
" you is, Brothers, be juſt, be good, *and*
" *you will be beloved.* An endleſs ſlavery
" muſt be an endleſs ſource of crimes, for
" ſlavery is a great crime. Take at leaſt the
" idea of endleſs from it, for the ſorrow
" that has no end muſt produce deſpair.

" The cauſe of all the evil, exiſts in the
" character of the inhabitants of a torrid
" climate, in the deſtruction of the courts,
" the want of juſtice, the diſtance between
" the governing and the governed: it exiſts
" above all in the ſyſtem for the independ-
" ence of the planters, in the audacity of
" the factious who conceived it to ſubſtitute
" their own tyranny for Miniſterial deſpot-
" iſm, in the perſecution of the people of
" colour, in the outrages, inſults, and im-
" priſonments they have been made to ſuffer.
" It is they are guilty who have threatened
" to deliver themſelves up to a foreign
" power, who have called in its ſhips, and
" ſet up its colours: they who inſult
" philoſophy, liberty, the declaration of
" rights in the very temple of philoſophy

" and

" and liberty. The Legiſlator may, like the " Divinity, be offended in his ſanctuary, " but like him, he muſt deſpiſe the offence, " and avenge himſelf by continuing to do " good. Yes, France owes protection and " ſecurity to the Whites, to the Blacks, to " the people of colour, who reſpect, and " who guard the public order. She owes " juſtice to all, ſhe owes it above all to the " guilty. She owes it to herſelf, and juſtice ſhall be done." This ſpeech concluded with a motion for decreeing that the Governor of St. Domingo, *de Blanchelande*, the General Aſſembly of the Colony and their accomplices, ſhould be accuſed and arraigned in the National Supreme Court.

This faithful abſtract of a ſpeech which laſted more than two hours, is ſufficient to give a juſt idea, not only of *Briſſot*'s principles and the nature of his talents, but alſo of the tenet, and of the fanaticiſm, or rather hypocricy of *the friends of the Blacks*, of which it was the echo.

The Aſſembly, amidſt the loudeſt clapping, ordered the ſpeech to be printed, and referred it to the Committee for the Colonies, who were not to make their report on this buſineſs till the end of ten days. It had nearly been

been decided alſo, that the departure of the troops intended for St. Domingo ſhould be delayed till after this report, under pretence that they would arrive there only to be the blind inſtrument of the prevailing party. "If you "do not adopt this meaſure," ſaid *Gaudet*, a Deputy from la Gironde, "your definitive "decree will, from the well known diſpoſi- "tion of the planters, find, inſtead of men, "only dead bodies, inſtead of Citizens, only executioners."—"If you determine on the "delay," replied *Vergniaud*, "you will "take upon yourſelves a fearful reſponſi- "bility, and remove it from the Miniſter. "When once before, through reſpect to the "Conſtitutional forms, you were forced to "defer, for a day or two, the vote of ſup- "ply neceſſary for the ſuccours deſigned "for the Colony of St. Domingo, your "intentions were miſrepreſented, you were "accuſed of a criminal indifference, and to "give a colour to ſuch charges, they were "artfully inſerted in a letter ſigned by the "King, and counter-ſigned, *Bertrand*. "With what energy and appearance of rea- "ſon will they be repeated on this occa- "ſion?"

The

The heat of the debates that aroſe on this queſtion, occaſioned it to be adjourned to the next Sitting, but fortunately I received in the mean time news that the frigates having on board the 6300 men for the Weſt Indies had ſet ſail, and I wrote immediately to the Aſſembly to inform them of it*. This however did not prevent them from renewing the diſcuſſion of the adjourned queſtion, as if it had ſtill been poſſible to delay the departure of a ſquadron which had put to ſea ſix days before. The diſcuſſion laſted two Sittings, and was concluded with the adoption of a plan propoſed by *Briſſot*, after it was reduced by ſeveral amendments, to recommending to the King, that it ſhould be ordered that the National forces ſhould be employed only in quelling the rebellion of the Blacks, and not in aiding or countenancing, directly or indirectly, any attempts that might be made to alter the ſituation of the free people of colour, as it had been ſettled at St. Domingo, in the month of September preceding.

Theſe idle and tumultuous debates, and the multitude of addreſſes, petitions, and

*See Private Memoirs. Vol. I. page 305.

ridiculous

ridiculous denunciations, which took up the whole time of the Aſſembly, drew from one of their members, under colour of a motion for order, a moſt humiliating, but juſt leſſon for them. It was founded on facts ſo ſtrikingly true, that in ſpite of its ſeverity and the clamours of ſeveral members of the *Coté gauche*, it was decreed that the ſpeech ſhould be printed and referred to the Committee; ſo great and irreſiſtible is the power of truth on a large Aſſembly, when its tranſcendent light ſhines at once unexpectedly upon all, and ſtrikes every conſcience, without giving injuſtice and falſehood time to ſpread their miſts. This truly remarkable ſpeech, which was delivered in the Sitting of the 5th of December, cannot but be conſidered as an authentic document, neceſſary to the hiſtory of the Second Aſſembly, and I therefore think it incumbent upon me to preſerve it here.

" The motion of order which I am about " to make, is of the utmoſt importance to " the ſafety of the State, and the dignity of " the National Aſſembly. For two months " paſt I have liſtened and reflected, and my " duty and my conſcience call upon me to " ſpeak the truth to you. What have we

" to

" to do? What have we done? What are " we? What ought we to be? Theſe " queſtions are the ſubject of the obſerva- " tions I am about to make.

" To reſtore order in the finances, to form " the ſyſtem of public education, to give " light to the dark paths of government, " to raiſe the public ſpirit everywhere, to " cauſe the Conſtitution to be obſerved and " reſpected throughout the kingdom, is " what we have to do. Let us ſee what " we have done on theſe great points?— " Nothing.

" The citizen, whoſe curioſity leads him " to attend our Sittings, wonders at the " deficiency he finds, and aſks for the Re- " preſentatives of the Nation. What does " all Europe think of us? We are buſy on " trifles, while the great intereſts of the " nation demand every hour of our time; " we are deciding private appeals inſtead of " paſſing general laws; we do not debate, " we diſpute, we intrigue; we have per- " ſonal invectives in the place of reaſoning, " a patriotiſm that ſaps the country, and, " with pure intentions, perpetual diſtruſt. " By what malignant genius are we blinded? " Can it be a falſe ſpirit of the Conſtituent Aſſembly?

" Aſſembly? But what a difference!—cir-
" cumſtances, men, every thing is changed.
" Of the Members of the Conſtituent
" Aſſembly, ſome, armed with Philoſophy,
" ſtruggled to deſtroy all abuſes; others,
" incited by prejudice, defended every
" thing; the two parties, ever preſent,
" were in a continual ſtate of war. But
" we are the protectors of rights acknow-
" ledged and eſtabliſhed, and from guilt
" only have we to divide. The ideas of
" things are now all ſettled: before us is a
" ſacred ſtandard, which, as long as we
" live, is to guide us. Who could quit
" this banner? only the perjured and the
" traitor; and yet diviſion prevails among
" us. He who ſpeaks with energy is a
" caballer, and he who ſpeaks with
" prudence, a *fawner*, or *miniſterialiſt*.
" This is the ſhameful and but too public
" hiſtory of our debates. Meanwhile, the
" French people are looking on and judg-
" ing us; and when I ſpeak of the people, I
" do not only mean thoſe who actually hear
" and applaud us: no; France is not all in
" Paris, nor all Paris in our galleries. All
" France looks to you for its tranquillity,
" poſterity for its happineſs. Theſe are the
" glorious

" glorious objects that ſhould fix your atten-
" tion; and let us remember, that there is no
" ſeparate glory for us: the glory of the
" Aſſembly is collective; we ſhall be all
" eſtimated by the labours of all, and we
" ſhall each return home covered with the
" general honour, or the general ſhame.
" Two months have already paſſed, and
" we have not even begun thoſe labours.
" However, France may yet [illegible] us:—
" let us tell her, that it was natural for
" minds animated with different views,
" though all tending to the ſame end, to
" grow warm and ferment, before they
" underſtood one another. But let us
" ſpeedily put an end to this fermentation,
" for, if it goes on, it will lead to the
" diſſolution of the body politic. What
" order can be hoped in the State, if diſ-
" order prevails in the National Aſſembly?
" What will be thought of your laws if
" they are ſeen riſing from diſcord? What
" good can be done, if the Conſtituted
" Powers are for ever claſhing? It is ne-
" ceſſary to watch the Executive Power,
" but it ſhould not be moved in leading-
" ſtrings. Do not let us ſhackle it when
" it goes freely. It is on the Aſſembly,

" on

" on the union of all parts of the body
" politic that the public ſafety, the main-
" tenance of the Conſtitution, and the proſ-
" perity of the empire depend. Human
" powers ſhould imitate the order that per-
" vades all the parts of the univerſe, the
" ſublime harmony of which compels us
" to acknowledge a Divine Regulator. To
" diſcover the cauſes of evil, is to point out
" the remedies for it. He who has a great taſk
" to perform, ſhould not undertake that of
" others. But it is of great conſequence,
" and we owe it to the people we repreſent,
" we owe it to ourſelves, to give the Aſ-
" ſembly that reſpectable character and
" dignified appearance becoming Legiſla-
" tors. Repreſentatives of the French
" people! never loſe ſight of this conſidera-
" tion, and you will ſoon raiſe yourſelves
" to the elevation of your duties; you will
" merit the eſteem of Europe, and the gra-
" titude of France."

This ſalutary leſſon was ſoon forgotten, and the unpleaſant impreſſions it had made were effaced next day by the reading of an addreſs* from the Conſtitutional Society of

* Appendix, No. V.

London to the National Aſſembly, the King, and the French nation.

This addreſs, which contained a moſt pompous eulogy on the New Conſtitution, concluded with an unanimous ſolemn engagement of the Members of the Society, *to repel the efforts of one or more deſpotic Powers, whatever they might be, againſt the liberty of the French people, and, for that purpoſe, to employ their lives and fortunes in the total deſtruction of ſlavery, uſurpation, and tyranny**.

Notwithſtanding this, it did not appear that the horrible ſlavery, uſurpation, and tyranny which exiſted in France under the reign of *Robeſpierre*, and of his ſucceſſors, ever experienced the ſlighteſt obſtruction from that Society, which would undoubtedly have been ruined, and perhaps their Members all put to death, had they been faithful to their engagement.

The denunciation made againſt me on account of the letter I had cauſed to be in-

* It was decreed that this addreſs ſhould be entered on the Journals of the Aſſembly in Engliſh and French, and preſented to the King; and that the Preſident ſhould write a letter of thanks to the Conſtitutional Society.

ſerted

ſerted in the Moniteur, being ſigned only by ſome Members of the Jacobin Club at Breſt; *Cavelier*, who had been the inſtigator of it, and who had had himſelf appointed the Reporter, neglected nothing that could give it greater weight. It was, in fact, through his intrigues that the Adminiſtrators of the Department of Finiſter wrote a letter to the Aſſembly, in which they denounced me as guilty, 1ſt, of having deceived the Legiſlative Body, by affirming that the officers of my Department were at their poſts; and 2dly, of having betrayed the nation by employing, on the expedition intended for the ſuccour of St. Domingo, men of whom the public thought ill; ſuch as M. *de la Jaille, whoſe arrival the Citizens at Breſt beheld with horror.* "Can the ſafety "of the Empire," added thoſe zealous adminiſtrators, "be entruſted, without guilt, "to criminal hands?"

This denunciation, which was as deſtitute of proof as that ſigned by the Members of the Breſt Club, was read in the Sitting of the 7th of December, and referred to the Committees of the Navy and of Inſpection. By this reading the minds of the Members

of the Aſſembly were prepa[illegible] for the re-port made by *Cavelier* next [illegible] in the Even-ing Sitting, which was a co[illegible] chain of calumny againſt the whole bo[illegible] and againſt me. It concluded with the pla[illegible] of a decree, tending to compel the [illegible] of every rank to repair to their poſts [illegible] the 15th of January following, under pain of being mulct of their ſalary, ſuſpended, ſuperſeded, and declared incapable of filling in future any military or naval employment. The Aſſembly ordered the report to be printed, and adjourned the plan for the decree.

The King, although fully determined to refuſe his ſanction to the decree paſſed on the 29th of November relative to religious diſturbances, delayed declaring his refuſal to the Aſſembly, for fear that the nonjuring Prieſts, who were accuſed of ſoliciting it, ſhould be expoſed to new perſecutions; and, no doubt, it was prudent to give the popular fermentation which the Jacobins had raiſed on the occaſion time to ſubſide.

The Members of the Directory of the Department of Paris juſtified on this occaſion what I before remarked of their diſpoſition towards

towards the King, and powerfully ſeconded his intention by a ſtep truly bold. Being obliged to conform to the decree of the Firſt Aſſembly, which had prohibited all bodies and aſſociations whatever from petitioning in a collective name, they drew up a petition to his Majeſty, which they ſigned individually as active Citizens, and in which, after beſtowing the greateſt praiſes on the Revolution, the Conſtitution, the zeal of the Aſſembly, and the purity of its intentions, they boldly declared, and proved by unanſwerable arguments, that the late decree which they had paſſed on the religious diſturbances called loudly for the exerciſe of the *Veto*.

"The National Aſſembly," ſaid they, "have certainly meant well, and always "mean well: we take delight in paying "them this reſpect, and here doing them "juſtice againſt their ſlanderers; their inten- "tion was, to extirpate the innumerable "evils of which, at this moment particu- "larly, religious diſputes are the cauſe or "the pretext. But we think that this "laudable deſign has urged them into "meaſures which the Conſtitution, which

" juſtice, which prudence could not admit.
" They have made the payment of the pen-
" ſion of every unbeneficed clergyman de-
" pend on the taking of the Civic Oath;
" whereas the Conſtitution has expreſsly
" and literally included theſe penſions in
" the liſt of the National debts: now, can
" the refuſing to take any oath whatever,
" even the moſt lawful, overturn a ſettled
" title? And is it enough in any caſe for a
" debtor to impoſe a ſubſequent condition, to
" evade the obligation of paying a prior debt?
" The conſtituent National Aſſembly did
" what they could on the ſubject of nonjuring
" Prieſts: for refuſing the Oath preſcribed,
" they deprived them of their benefices, and
" reduced them to a penſion. There was
" the penalty — there was the ſentence.
" Now, can a new penalty be affixed to a
" point already determined every time ſome
" particular crime is committed that does
" not alter the queſtion? The National Aſ-
" ſembly, after the nonjuring Prieſts have
" been ſtripped of their offices, would have
" them alſo declared ſuſpected of rebellion
" againſt the Law, if they do not take an
" oath which is required of no other Citizen

" not

" not in office. Now, how can a law " declare men ſuſpected of rebellion againſt " the Law? Can there be any right to ſuſ- " pect a crime? By the decree of the Na- " tional Aſſembly, Eccleſiaſtics who have " not taken the Oath, or who have re- " tracted it, may, on all religious diſ- " turbances, be removed to a diſtance pro- " viſionally, and impriſoned, if they do " not obey the order when made known to " them. Now, is not this renewing the " ſyſtem of arbitrary orders, inaſmuch as it " permits a man, before he is convicted of " breaking any law, to be puniſhed with " exile or impriſonment?

" The decree enacts, that the Directors " of Departments ſhall make liſts of the " nonjuring Prieſts, and tranſmit them to " the Legiſlative Body, with obſervations " on the conduct of each of them in- " dividually, as if it were in the power of " the Directors to claſs men, who, being " no longer poſſeſſed of a public charge, are " confounded with the general claſs of " citizens; as if men in adminiſtration " could reſolve on making and publiſhing " liſts which might, in times of fermenta- " tion, become bloody liſts of proſcription;

" as if, in ſhort, they were capable of exer-
" ciſing the inquiſitorial Miniſtry, which
" the literal execution of this decree would
" require.

" The National Aſſembly refuſe all who
" do not take the Civic Oath, the free exer-
" ciſe of their religion. Now, that free-
" dom cannot be taken from any one: no
" power could give it, no power can take
" it away; it is the firſt and moſt inviola-
" ble of rights; it was for ever conſecrated
" in the Declaration of Rights, in the Fun-
" damental Articles of the Conſtitution,
" and it is out of the reach of all attacks.
" For theſe reaſons, and in the ſacred name
" of Liberty, of the Conſtitution, and of
" the public welfare, we beſeech you,
" Sire, to refuſe your ſanction to the de-
" cree of the 29th of November."

This petition, which appeared in all the public papers on the 5th of December, produced the greateſt ſenſation throughout the Capital. It obtained the approbation and gratitude of all honeſt men, but it exaſperated all the Jacobin party ſo violently, that they immediately reſorted to their uſual manœuvres and revolutionary expedients, to draw from Paris and the Provinces the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt and moſt threatening denunciations and petitions againſt the Directory of the Department. In the courſe of two days, the different ſections of the Capital were ſeen ſhamefully giving the ſignal for this mutiny at the bar of the Aſſembly, where they were rewarded for their audacity, not only with the honours of the Sitting, but with the honourable mention of their impudent harangues, and even the inſertion of many of them in the minutes*.

The Sitting of the 11th of December was entirely employed in hearing ſimilar petitions, and in applauding them, although there was not a ſingle one of them in which the

* It may not be unuſeful to give an idea of the nature of thoſe to which this laſt diſtinction was granted, which may be formed from the following extracts, taken from the addreſs preſented by *Camille Deſmoulins*, in the name of 300 Citizens of the Section of the French Theatre. "But that public men ſpecially appointed to ſee the "law executed, ſhould urge the Monarch to oppoſe its "being executed; that the magiſtrates of the people "ſhould turn againſt the people the favours beſtowed "upon them, and the authority confided to them; that "they ſhould overflow the empire with a petition, "which is only the firſt leaf of a great regiſter of "Counter-revolution, and a ſubſcription for civil war "ſent to be ſigned by all the fanatics, ideots, laſting "ſlaves,

the concluſions and the preamble were not clearly contradictory to the principles of the Conſtitution. The delirium of the Aſſembly, or rather, its fury againſt the Members of the Directory of the Department, did not confine itſelf to giving an honourable reception to all theſe petitions; they decreed that the minutes of this Sitting; in which they were inſerted, either entirely or in ſubſtance, ſhould be ſent to the eighty-three Departments. It is true, that next morning the remonſtrances of ſome reaſonable Deputies againſt this ſcandalous act, and the fear of the conſequences that might

" ſlaves, and former thieves of the Eighty-three De-
" partments, at the head of which are the exemplary
" names of the Members of the Department of Paris!
" Fathers of the country, if ſome people are obſtinately
" bent on not allowing you to ſave the nation, the
" nation will ſave itſelf as it has done before. For the
" power of the Royal [illegible] has a limit, and the taking
" of a Baſtille is not to be prevented by a *Veto*. We
" come to tell you this in the name of Twenty million
" of men. We demand of you a great example;—let
" the Directory be accuſed;—it is the leaders that muſt
" be purſued; ſtrike at the head, like your thunder
" againſt the conſpiring Princes, your rod for an in-
" ſolent Directory, and exorciſe the demon of fanata-
" ciſm by the means of laſting."

reſult

refult from it, determined the Aſſembly to revoke it.

Thus this ſtruggle of petitions ended in favour of the Directory of the Department of Paris, which was the only one that was ſpared, for it could not be attacked, nor the decree of the 29th of November defended, but by arguments inconſiſtent with the principles of the Conſtitution. This reaſoning being repeated, and put in an eaſy and clear manner to the underſtanding of the people in ſeveral pamphlets, prepared the public for a refuſal of the King's ſanction. M. *Duport du Tertre* and M. *de Leſſart* inſiſted, nevertheleſs, on the neceſſity of ſome previous act of popularity, and prevailed on his Majeſty to adopt the conduct I am now about to relate.

The Aſſembly had ſpent the whole night between the 13th and 14th of December in examining and confronting alehouſe-keepers and drunken perſons; on a denunciation of a pretended inliſting carried on for the Princes by a drum-major of the Pariſian National Guard, and had broke up at half paſt ſeven in the morning, without a ſingle circumſtance worthy of notice in this diſguſting buſineſs. The Sitting of the 14th did

did not open till five o'clock in the afternoon, when a letter from the King to the Preſident was read, informing him, that his Majeſty intended to come to the Aſſembly at ſix. He was accompanied by all the Miniſters. There was a profound ſilence throughout the Hall when he entered. The King, having taken his place, delivered the following ſpeech in a firm tone of voice :—

" Gentlemen, I have fully conſidered
" your meſſage of the 29th of laſt month.
" On an occaſion involving the honour of
" the French people, and the ſafety of the
" empire, I felt it incumbent on me to
" make you an anſwer perſonally; the
" nation cannot but be gratified with thoſe
" communications between its elected re-
" preſentatives and its hereditary repre-
" ſentative.

" You requeſted me to take deciſive
" meaſures to put an end to the aſſembling
" of bodies out of the kingdom, which
" kept up within an anxiety and grievous
" fermentation, compelled an augmentation
" of expence which exhauſts us, and is
" more dangerous to liberty than an open
" and declared war.

" You

" You deſired that I ſhould inform the " neighbouring Princes who encourage the " aſſembling of thoſe bodies contrary to " the rules of good neighbourhood and " principles of the laws of nations, that " the French nation could no longer tolerate " that want of attentions, and thoſe under- " hand hoſtilities.

" Laſtly, You acquainted me that the " emotion was generally felt throughout " France, and that the cry of every French- " man was; 'War, rather than a ruinous " and a diſgraceful patience.'

" Gentlemen, I have long thought that " circumſtances required great circumſpec- " tion in our meaſures; that ſcarcely " emerged from the agitations and ſtorms " of a Revolution, and, amidſt the firſt " eſſays of a New Conſtitution, it behoved " me to neglect no means which may pre- " ſerve France from the incalculable evils of " war. I have neglected none. On the " one hand, I have done every thing to " recall the French Emigrants to their " country, and to induce them to ſubmit " to the new laws adopted by the great " majority of the nation; on the other hand, " I have employed the moſt friendly per-

" ſuaſions,

" ſuaſions, and made formal and particular
" demands of the neighbouring Princes, not
" to give them a ſupport proper to flatter
" their hopes, and embolden them in their
" raſh projects.

" The Emperor has done what was to be
" expected of a faithful ally, by pro-
" hibiting and diſperſing all aſſembling in
" his States. My endeavours have not had
" the ſame ſucceſs with ſome other Princes,
" and anſwers, not very diſcreet, have been
" returned to my demands. Theſe unjuſt
" refuſals call for determinations of another
" kind. The nation has manifeſted its
" wiſh, you have gained the knowledge of
" it; you have weighed the conſequences
" of it, and you have expreſſed it to me
" in your meſſage. Gentlemen, you did
" not anticipate me; as the Repreſentative
" of the people I felt the inſult; and I
" ſhall now inform you of the meaſures I
" have taken to obtain ſatisfaction for it.

" I have given directions for declaring to
" the Elector of Treves, that if he does not,
" before the 15th of January, put a ſtop in
" his dominions to all aſſembling and hoſtile
" preparations on the part of the French
" who have fled thither, I ſhall no longer

" conſider

" conſider him but as an enemy to " France*.

" I ſhall cauſe a ſimilar declaration to be " made to all thoſe who in like manner " countenance the aſſembling, injurious to " the tranquillity of the kingdom; and by ſe- " curing for foreigners all the protection " they have a right to expect from our laws, " I may well demand a prompt and com- " plete ſatisfaction for the outrages the " French may have received.

" I ſhall write to the Emperor to engage " him to continue his good offices; and, if " it ſhould be neceſſary, to exert his autho- " rity, as Head of the empire, to avert the " miſeries which a longer perſeverance of " the conduct of ſome of the Members of " the Germanic Body could not fail to " induce. Much, doubtleſs, may be ex- " pected from his interference, ſupported " by the powerful influence of his example. " But I ſhall, at the ſame time, make " ſuch military preparations as are moſt " proper to obtain attention to theſe de-

* Here there was a general clapping, accompanied with ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* which were continually repeated at every pauſe to the end of the ſpeech.

" clarations,

" clarations. If they are not attended to,
" then, Gentlemen, it will only remain for
" me to propoſe war;—war, which a peo-
" ple who have ſolemnly renounced con-
" queſts, will never enter into without
" neceſſity, but which a generous and free
" nation knows how to undertake, when
" its own ſafety and its honour demand it.
" But, while we bravely take this re-
" ſolution, let us haſten to employ the
" means which can alone inſure it ſucceſs.
" Fix your attention, Gentlemen, on the
" ſtate of the finances, maintain the Na-
" tional credit, and be careful of the public
" fortune. Let your deliberations, always
" directed by Conſtitutional principles, take
" a ſerious, noble, and reſpectable courſe,
" the only one ſuitable to the Legiſlators of
" a great empire. Let the Conſtituted
" Powers reſpect themſelves in order to be
" reſpected; let them be mutually aiding in-
" ſtead of fettering themſelves; and, laſtly,
" let it be known that, although diſtinct,
" they are not enemies. It will be well to
" ſhew foreign nations, that the French
" people, the repreſentatives, and their King,
" make but one. It is to this union, it is
" alſo, never let us forget it, to the reſpect

" we

" we command from the Governments of
" other States that we muſt look for the
" ſafety, conſideration, and glory of the
" empire. As for me, Gentlemen, it ſhall
" be in the power of none to render the
" exerciſe of the authority confided to me
" diſguſting. I declare before all France,
" that nothing can ſhake my perſeverance,
" or weaken my exertions. It ſhall not be
" my fault if the law does not become the
" ſupport of the Citizens, and the dread of
" diſturbers. The depoſit of the Conſtitu-
" tion I will faithfully preſerve, and on no
" conſideration will I ſuffer it to be invaded;
" and if men who wiſh only confuſion and
" trouble take occaſion of this reſolution to
" calumniate my intentions, I ſhall not
" deign to repel by words the unjuſt ſuſ-
" picions they ſhall be pleaſed to ſpread.
" They who obſerve the conduct of Govern-
" ment with an attentive eye, and without
" prejudice, muſt be conſcious that I never
" deviate from the Conſtitutional line, and
" that I feel truly that it is glorious to be
" the King of a free people."

" Sire," replied the Preſident, " the
" National Aſſembly will deliberate on the
" propoſals you have juſt made to them, and

" will inform you by a meſſage of their
" reſolutions*."

This anſwer, equally ſtupid and impertinent, was ſo ridiculous in contraſt to the general enthuſiaſm which had been excited by the King's conduct, that the Aſſembly themſelves were aſhamed of it, and rejected with indignation the motion for printing it at the end of the King's ſpeech, which they decreed ſhould be ſent to the Eighty-three Departments.

In a few minutes after we had left the Aſſembly, M. *de Narbonne* returned to the Hall, and announced, that his Majeſty had charged him to give the neceſſary orders for aſſembling a hundred and fifty thouſand men on the frontiers in a month.

" I ſhall, in a few days," added he, " ſet
" out to aſcertain the ſtate of the army, and
" view the frontiers; not that I think there
" are grounds for all the ſuſpicions of the
" ſoldiers againſt the officers, but I hope to
" diſſipate them in ſpeaking to one and the
" other of the country and of the King.
" To the officers I will ſay, that old pre-

* The King had not made a ſingle propoſal to the Aſſembly, and his ſpeech was merely the cordial expreſſion of his Majeſty's ſentiments and intentions.

" judices

" judices and an unbounded love of their
" King have for a time been able to excuſe
" their conduct, but that the word *treaſon*
" is of no tongue. To the ſoldiers I will
" ſay, the officers who remain at the head
" of the army are attached to the Revolu-
" tion both by their oath and by honour;
" the ſafety of the State is now to depend
" on the diſcipline of its army. I ſhall put
" the papers of my office into the hands of
" the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; and
" ſuch is my confidence, ſuch ſhould be
" the confidence of the nation in his pa-
" triotiſm, that I hold myſelf reſponſible
" for all the orders he ſhall give in my
" department. Three armies appear to be
" neceſſary. M. *Rochambeau*, M. *Lukner*,
" and M. *de la Fayette*, have been pointed
" out by the country to command them,
" and the King and the country are no
" longer but one. His Majeſty could have
" wiſhed that the military organization had
" allowed him to give the rank of Mareſchal
" of France to M. *Rochambeau* and M.
" *Lukner*.

" The Aſſembly no doubt believes at
" preſent that the welfare of the country is
" the Supreme Law, and will perhaps de-

" termine on declaring to the King, that
" they ſhould be glad that he would confer
" that rank on thoſe Generals. An increaſe
" of expence will be inevitable; France will
" not bargain for her liberty. Should any
" minute particulars eſcape me in the im-
" menſe and perhaps daring enterpriſe I
" have undertaken, I hope at leaſt that I
" ſhall not deſerve to be reproached for
" neglecting any great meaſure. From the
" ſacrifice the King has now made of his
" private affections, he will no doubt find
" himſelf rewarded with a double portion
" of attachment from all who, like me,
" have indiſſolubly united their fate with
" the liberty of France."

This ſpeech, which was often interrupted by loud clappings, produced a very advantageous effect for M. *de Leſſart*, who, not having yet anſwered the falſe denunciation made againſt him by the Abbé *Fauchet*, found his juſtification in a manner anticipated by the confidence, of which he had been declared worthy by the Miniſter then moſt popular. M. *de Narbonne* ſet out on the 21ſt of December to view the frontiers.

The Preſident (*Le Montey*) made ſome amends

amends for the inſolent and mean laconiſm of his anſwer to the King, in drawing up the addreſs that was to follow it, *and in expreſſing the ſenſe of the Aſſembly more reſpectably and more at large**. This addreſs, which after ſome ſlight amendments was adopted, ran thus:

"" Sire, the Aſſembly ſaw with tranſport " the King of the French in the language " your Majeſty ſpoke to them. They were " more ſenſible than ever of the importance " of the harmony of the powers, of thoſe " frank and mutual communications, which " are the wiſh of the Empire, and the " promiſe of its welfare. They will pay " the utmoſt attention to the deciſive mea- " ſures you have announced, and if the " chain of events be ſuch that they muſt be " put in execution, the National Aſſembly, " Sire, promiſe your Majeſty more glory " than ever was acquired by any of your " anceſtors. They will ſhow to Europe " what can be done by a great, injured " people, whoſe arms ſhall be moved by " their hearts, and who, anxious for juſtice

* This Deputy certainly was not without talents, but he did not poſſeſs that of extemporaneous language.

" and peace, combat for themſelves their
" enemies who are yours. You are ani-
" mated by powerful intereſts, and delight-
" ful enjoyments are prepared for you.
" From the Rhine to the Pyrences, from the
" Alps to the ocean, all will be under the
" eye of a good King, covered with ram-
" parts of free and faithful men. Such,
" Sire, is the family to which you are
" attached; ſuch are your friends, theſe
" have not forſaken you. All the Repre-
" ſentatives of the people, all the true
" French have devoted their lives to ſupport
" the National dignity, to defend the
" acknowledged Conſtitution, and their be-
" loved King, whoſe throne they have
" ſtrengthened."

Theſe ſentiments and proteſtations were doubtleſs ſincere, but unfortunately there remained no trace of them when the moment of enthuſiaſm which had excited them was paſt. M. *de Narbonne* flattered himſelf perhaps that he ſhould prolong them by adopting, in his demand for the extraordinary ſupplies which the meaſures propoſed by the King required, the unconſtitutional form which the Aſſembly had ſo imprudently cenſured me for not having taken; and he

he accordingly adviſed his Majeſty to write a letter to the Preſident and make the demand of thoſe ſupplies, the calculation of which amounted to twenty millions.

The King ſuppoſed that this meaſure had been concerted with the Miniſters as a means of ſtill farther ſmoothing the effect of the *Veto* which his Majeſty was that day to give to the decree concerning the religious diſturbances.

He heſitated however, and would not write the letter without adding the following ſentence: "In this demand I adopt a form "that avoids all difficulty; but I ſtill think, "however, that the form adopted by the "Miniſter of the Marine on a ſimilar "occaſion, is equally conſtitutional and "more expeditious*."

The Aſſembly, to whom the King in his letter of the 24th of November demonſtrated that the form I had followed was the only one authoriſed by the Conſtitution, triumphed in this inconſiſtency, which was generally conſidered as a proof of weakneſs or careleſſneſs in his Majeſty, and as a certain

* See the King's letter to the Preſident, of December the 18th, 1791.

indication of the want of harmony among the Miniſters. *There had not, however, till* then been the *leaſt notion*, the *ſlighteſt* appearance of diviſion or competition. We lived on a perfect good underſtanding; we met often in council at the Keeper of the Seals' hotel to concert our reſpective proceedings. We conſidered perſonal denunciations which were intended to ſeparate and diſunite us, as the common cauſe of the Miniſtry, and we united all our efforts, all our means, to repel thoſe attacks; in a word, we followed ſtrictly, frankly, and with as much union as poſſible, the conſtitutional line marked out for us, not only by our oath but by that of the King, and were firmly reſolved to be faithful to it. M. *de Narbonne*, younger and more preſumptuous than the reſt, did not think this ſtep ſufficiently brilliant or ſolid, and thought himſelf capable of upholding himſelf, all our dignity and our credit, by a great augmentation of popularity. Full of confidence in his talents, he launched into the Miniſterial career, where he gracefully diſplayed a kind of patriotiſm, ſo ſpruce, ſo fluttering, ſometimes ſo burleſque, that he excited a general enthuſiaſm. His outſet both in the Aſſembly

bly and at the Committees, completely anſwered his expectations. The twenty millions of extraordinary ſupplies which he demanded, and the promotion of M. *Rochambeau* and M. *Lukner* to the rank of Mareſchals of France, were voted unanimouſly: in a word, whatever he propoſed was adopted, whatever he aſked was granted without the leaſt objection. All the newspapers of the Capital laviſhed the greateſt praiſes on him, publiſhed all his ſpeeches in the Aſſembly, and even the letters he wrote to the three Generals, to inform them of their appointment.

The brilliant popularity thus acquired by M. *de Narbonne*, far from being as advantageous to us as he had promiſed himſelf it would be, concentered in him alone all that was ſhared by the Miniſtry, and turned out as much to our loſs as to his advantage. The greateſt misfortune that reſulted from it was, that the Miniſters, dazzled by his ſucceſs, and perhaps jealous of it, flattered themſelves that they ſhould likewiſe ſucceed by following nearly the ſame route, and they began accordingly to communicate ſeparately with the committees, without agreeing together, or conſulting one another on this

this point. I perſiſted by myſelf, in the firſt reſolution we had taken, as moſt conformable to the ſpirit, and even to the letter of the Conſtitution. I was fully aware that this conduct would greatly increaſe the malevolence of which I was the object, but I ſaw much leſs danger in irritating my enemies, than in furniſhing them with opportunities and means of injuring me; and ſuch would inevitably have been the effect of my communicating with the Committee of the Marine, where I ſhould every day have found myſelf with my moſt violent calumniators and denunciators, the *Caveliers*, *Rouhiers*, *Malaſſis*, &c. for they were all members of that Committee, and it did not ſuit me more to expoſe myſelf to their familiarities than to their provocations. I did not of courſe avow this as my motive for not following the example of my colleagues, and merely pleaded my exactneſs in attending ſcrupulouſly to the execution of the Conſtitution, which ſerved me as a veil for my real ſentiments. It was not long before the other Miniſters ſaw their error, and M. *de Leſſart* paid very dearly for it, as will be ſeen in the ſubſequent Chapters.

Men in office, as well as Princes, do wrong,

wrong, in ſhowing themſelves too often, and too near: let their talents, abilities, energy, virtue, be what they may, they have always leſs than is imagined by thoſe who are unacquainted with them; they muſt therefore neceſſarily loſe ſomething by approach.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

The King refuſes his Sanction to the Decree againſt the Prieſts—Change of Ambaſſadors and Miniſters Plenipotentiary at various Courts — M. Bertrand makes his Report relative to St. Domingo—Meſſage from Tippoo Saib—Interference of the Emperor in favor of the German Princes, who had Poſſeſſions in Alſace and Loraine—The Jacobin Party endeavour to provoke a War—Quarrel between the Jacobin and Feuillans Clubs —Diſcuſſion reſpecting War — Famous Declaration on this Subject—Supplies granted

granted unanimouſly—M. Bertrand denounced by two Storekeepers ſent from India for Mal-practices — Report of Cavelier's Denunciation — Interference of the Emperor in favour of the Elector of Treves—The King's Letter to the Aſſembly on this Occaſion—The Aſſembly diſmiſs the Adminiſtrators of the Department of Paris, without receiving their Compliments on the New Year—Thoſe annual Compliments aboliſhed—The Swiſs Soldiers of the Regiment of Chateauvieux, condemned to the Galleys, ſet at liberty—Impeachment of the King's Brothers and the Prince of Condé decreed—M. Bertrand refutes the Denunciation reported againſt him, and alſo that of the two Storekeepers —Affair of the Garriſon of Perpignan—Commotions on the Frontiers, and throughout the Kingdom—Paciſic Declaration of the Elector of Treves.

THE Aſſembly received every day freſh addreſſes againſt the petitionof the Directory of the Department of Paris, relative to the Decree concerning religious troubles; but they were attended to with more decency; they were

no

no longer ordered to be printed, or inſerted in the Minutes, and many of them were interrupted by motions *of order*. At length in the Sitting of the 19th of December, the Aſſembly heard, without a murmur, the letter from the Keeper of the Seals, informing them, that the King had refuſed his ſanction to that Decree. It is true that M. *de Leſſart* had taken the precaution to have the recall or retreat of ſeveral of our Ambaſſadors and Miniſters Plenipotentiary, who were conſidered as Ariſtocrats, and the nomination of their Succeſſors*, inſerted in ſome of the public papers.

I took this opportunity of making the report I had announced on the diſaſters of

* M. *de Vergennes*, Miniſter plenipotentiary to the Elector of Treves, M. *de Montezan*, at the Court of Bavaria, and M. *de Beranger*, at the Diet of Ratiſbon, were recalled. M. *de Taleyran*, ambaſſador at Naples, M. *d'Oſmond*, Miniſter Plenipotentiary in Ruſſia, M. *de la Houſe* in Denmark, M. *O'Kelly* at Mayence, ſent their reſignation. M. *de Choiſeuil Gouffin* was named as ambaſſador for England, M. *de Montiers* for Conſtantinople, M. *Barthelemi* for Switzerland, M. *Segur* the elder for Berlin, M. *Bigot de St. Croix* for Treves, the Abbé *Louis* for Denmark, M. *de Montiel* for Mayence, M. *Daſſigny* for the Electorate Palatine, M. *de Maiſonneuve* for the Duchy of Wirtemberg, M. *de Marboix* for Ratiſbon, and M. *de Mackan* for Florence.

St.

St. Domingo, their cauſes, and the means of putting a ſtop to them. My ſituation rendered this report the more difficult, for in mentioning, as it was my part to do, the faction of the friends of the Blacks, and of courſe *Briſſot*, *Condorcet*, and their adherents, as the principal authors of thoſe horrors, I could not but expect a recrimination, for the bittereſt enemies I had in the Aſſembly were all connected with that party. I fortunately performed my taſk without provoking them much: not having yet obtained proofs againſt them ſufficiently poſitive to inſtitute a formal accuſation, I contented myſelf with letting them perceive that I had evidences, which I abſtained from making known to them, more through prudence than from weakneſs; for I could not declare them, without pointing out at the ſame time witneſſes to be corrupted or aſſaſſinated, and vouchers to be deſtroyed.

The Aſſembly were ſufficiently ſatisfied with my ſpeech on this occaſion to order it to be printed *. Towards the concluſion of it, I introduced ſome remarks adapted more to

* This ſpeech has been already publiſhed at length in my Private Memoirs, Vol. I. Chap. XIV.

the

the capacity of the galleries, than to the importance of my ſubject, which were attended with great applauſe, and which were ſuggeſted by my deſire of paving the way for the juſtification of M. *de Leſſart*, who was only waiting a favourable moment to refute the atrocious denunciation which the Abbé *Fauchet* had made againſt him. He juſtified himſelf in the completeſt manner on all the articles of it; and when the Abbé *Fauchet*, convicted of impoſture and calumny, attempted to reply, the Aſſembly refuſed with indignation to hear him, and paſſed to the order of the day, after decreeing the Miniſter's juſtification to be ſent to the Committee of Legiſlation, who had been charged with the denunciation.

At this period a ſecret meſſage was ſent to the King by Tippoo Saib, who demanded of his Majeſty 6000 French troops, offering to pay their tranſportation, cloathing, and maintenance. He was convinced, that with this aſſiſtance he could deſtroy the Engliſh army and ſettlements in India, and inſure the poſſeſſion to France. That nothing might tranſpire of this affair, Tippoo had not mentioned it in his council, and had ſecretly negociated the buſineſs with M. *de Freſne*,

Freſne, governor of Pondicherry, through the means of M. *Leger*, Adminiſtrator of the Civil Department in India, who underſtood the Perſian language, and who wrote the diſpatches dictated by Tippoo relative to this embaſſy. M. *Leger* himſelf came from India to France with this meſſage; and in order to conceal the real object of his voyage, ſome time before he ſet out he had declared that his private affairs would oblige him to return immediately to France.

As M. *Leger* was directed to the Miniſter of Marine, I informed the King of Tippoo Saib's propoſal: but notwithſtanding its advantages, and although the inſurrection of the negroes of St. Domingo rendered it neceſſary to ſend a conſiderable force there, under the pretence of which it would have have been eaſy to ſend to the Eaſt Indies the 6000 men demanded by Tippoo, without raiſing the ſuſpicion of the Engliſh government; the natural probity of the King's mind would not permit him to adopt this meaſure. "This reſembles," ſaid he, "the affair of America, which I never "think of without regret. My youth was "taken advantage of at that time, and we

" ſuffer for it now. The leſſon is too ſevere " to be forgotten *."

It was at this time too that M. de Leſſart communicated to the Aſſembly a very important letter which the King had received from the Emperor, wherein, in his own name and in that of the Empire, he made the moſt ſolemn declaration in behalf of the Princes who had poſſeſſions in Alſace and Loraine, whoſe rights had been violated by the decrees of the firſt Aſſembly; avowing *formally his reſolution of giving them all the aid required by the imperial dignity and crown, and the maintenance of the public conſtitutions of the Empire, if they did not obtain a full reſtoration of their property and rights, as ſettled by treaties* †.

After the reading of this letter, the decrees of commiſſion and ratification of the laſt *concluſum* of the Diet on the ſame ſubject were read. In thoſe it was ſtated, " That

* " Ceci reſſemblerait beaucoup (dit il) à l'affaire " d'Amerique, à la quelle je ne penſe jamais ſans re- " gret. On a un peu abuſé de ma jeuneſſe dans ce " temps la; nous en portons la peine aujourdhui. La " leçon eſt trop forte pour l'oublier."

† Appendix, No. VI.

" the

" the Emperor had hoped that the unſettled
" ſituation of things in France would lead
" to the re-eſtabliſhment of the rights ſup-
" preſſed in Alſace and Loraine; but that
" the conſtitution having been accepted by
" the King, without ſtipulating any excep-
" tion in that reſpect, his Imperial Majeſty
" had thought proper to eſtabliſh the fol-
" lowing points: 1ſt, That the Emperor
" and the Empire ſhould pay no regard to
" any ſubmiſſions made by certain States to
" the indemnities propoſed by France, inaſ-
" much as the unlimited execution of the
" Decrees of the National Aſſembly, paſſed
" ſince the 4th of Auguſt 1789, was an
" arbitrary uſurpation, an infringement, a
" violation of the territorial ſovereignty of
" the Empire, and of the Emperor. 2dly,
" That his Imperial Majeſty had ſeen with
" pain that the letter of his moſt Chriſtian
" Majeſty had not, either as to its * form

* The want of form complained of in the King's anſwer in this Decree, as well as in the Emperor's letter, was, that it was written in French inſtead of Latin, according to the cuſtom conſtantly obſerved in Diplomatic communications between France and Auſtria. Prince *Kaunitz* had before complained bitterly of it in ſeveral official notes.

" or its contents, correſponded to the gene-
" ral expectation raiſed by his known cha-
" racter of juſtice and ſincerity; and that
" having remarked in it the erron[illegible] of-
" ſumption of believing the lands [illegible] the
" aggrieved Princes to be ſubjected [illegible] ſuch
" manner to the ſovereignty of the King,
" that he could, with the proviſion of an
" indemnity, freely diſpoſe of them, his
" Imperial Majeſty proteſts ſolemnly, in
" his own name and in the name of the
" Empire, againſt all meaſures taken ſince
" the month of Auguſt 1798, contrary to the
" treaties; and declares that he ſhould before
" this have haſtened to give the aggrieved
" Princes all the ſuccours that depended
" upon him, conformably to the Imperial
" dignity and the laws of the Empire, if
" he had not hoped to conclude this buſineſs
" amicably." To this paper was annexed a monition, addreſſed to the Directory of the Circles, inviting them *to prevent the circulation of ſeditious writings, to oppoſe all diſturbance of public order, by compelling every one to ſubmit to the authority of the magiſtrates; and even to give mutual aſſiſtance in caſe of commotions, all conformably to the ordinances of police of the Empire,*

pire, and to the reſolutions of Spire and Augſburgh.

Theſe important papers deſerved the greater attention, from their announcing, on the part of the Emperor and of the Diet, the moſt decided oppoſition to every mode of indemnity to the Princes who had the poſſeſſions in queſtion, however advantageous the ſubmiſſions ſome of them had already made; and although that mode was the only one authoriſed by the Decrees to be taken. It had not occurred to the Firſt Aſſembly, that the execution of thoſe Decrees, by diſpoſſeſſing the aggrieved Princes, or altering the nature of their property, would be really an arbitrary violation of the territorial ſovereignty of the Emperor and of the Empire, unleſs ſettled with his Imperial Majeſty and the Diet; and that conſequently their concurrence was indiſpenſable, to give validity to any ſtipulation of indemnity with the Princes having ſuch poſſeſſions. This concurrence not having been obtained, nor even aſked for, the Emperor had indiſputably a right to demand the full reſtoration of the vaſſals of the Empire; nor could France object to it, without expoſing herſelf to ſupport a war evidently

unjuſt. But in times of Revolution, juſtice loſes her empire, and is vainly invoked by the weaker party: violence, ſeconded by revolutionary enthuſiaſm, reigns alone, and decides every thing.

The Emperor's letter, and the papers annexed to it, were referred to the Diplomatic Committee, in order that their report ſhould be immediately made upon them. The Aſſembly were not in the leaſt alarmed at the hoſtile diſpoſition they announced. The full confidence repoſed in the three Generals juſt appointed, and in the 150,000 men to be aſſembled on the frontiers, made them look upon war only as a means of powerfully conſolidating the Revolution, rendering it illuſtrious by victories, and propagating more rapidly its principles throughout Europe. Such in fact had for ſome time been the declared object of the Club of Jacobins, whoſe orators, newſpapers, and pamphlets were perpetually engaged in provoking war, by groſsly inſulting all the powers, and bullying them in the moſt inſolent manner. The principal members of it, who compoſed the majority of the Legiſlative body, expreſſed the ſame opinion on this occaſion in the

the Aſſembly, and were highly applauded by the galleries.

M. *de la Fayette* choſe this moment of warlike enthuſiaſm to go to Metz, to take the command which had been juſt beſtowed upon him. He ſet out on the 29th of December, at ten o'clock in the morning. On his way through Paris, which took nearly two hours, he was accompanied by detachments from all the battalions of the National Guard and by an innumerable crowd, whoſe tranſports and ſhouts of joy teſtified to him at once the confidence and the gratitude of the people. The National Guards of Foot conducted him to the Barrier, and the Horſe as far as Goneſe.

Meanwhile till the war ſhould commence on the frontiers, it was declared by the Jacobins againſt a New Club, which threatened to rival them under the title of the Club of the Feuillans. It was chiefly compoſed of the remains of the conſtitutional party of the Firſt Aſſembly, of the Members of the Legiſlative Body who had adopted ſimilar opinions, and of a ſmall number of moderate Royaliſts, who, although they did not in this Aſſociation find principles as pure as their own, conſidered it nevertheleſs as favourable

vourable to Royalty, from the circumſtance alone of its being oppoſed to Jacobiniſm, hoping that it might one day become a rallying point to the Royaliſts who had not emigrated, and who having no means of uniting, could offer to the King only a barren zeal and unavailing wiſhes. The motto of the Club was, *the Conſtitution, the whole Conſtitution, and nothing but the Conſtitution.* It was eſtabliſhed with permiſſion of the Municipality, in a part of the Buildings of the Feuillans not occupied by the Committees of the National Aſſembly, and had thence got the denomination of the Club of the Feuillans. Two of the moſt audacious Members of the Jacobins, and of the Aſſembly alſo, *Merlin de Thionville* and *Grangeneuve*, went in the evening of the 26th of December, to the door of the New Club-Room, and attempted to force their way in; but they were prevented by the centinel, whoſe orders were to admit only ſuch perſons as had the Society's tickets. *Merlin*, who had been more violent in the ſcuffle than his colleague, having had his coat a little torn, flew to the Aſſembly to denounce *this horrible outrage*, declaring, *that the Sbirri or Janiſſaries who had ſtopped him, had*

had preſented their bayonets to his breaſt, and that he ſhould perhaps have been the victim of their ill uſage, had not the National Guard come to his aſſiſtance.

This impoſture ſupported by the evidence of *Grangeneuve*, and at the ſame time contradicted by the Deputies, who were members of the Club of the Feuillans, produced a moſt clamorous agitation in the Aſſembly. The *Coté-droit* inſiſted upon paſſing to the order of the day, on the grounds that be the fact whatever it might, it belonged to the Juriſdiction of the Municipal Police. The *Coté-gauche* loudly demanded that the officer on guard ſhould be ſummoned to the bar, to make known what order he had given. The officer appeared at the bar, and declared "That for the purpoſe of preventing ill-diſpoſed perſons from entering the "room in queſtion, he had given the order "for admitting only ſuch as had a Deputy's "ticket, or a ticket of the Society of the "Feuillans, and that he had given no order "which in any manner related to the Aſ-"ſembly." On this declaration the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, and referred the affair to the Commiſſioners of the Hall. They made a report of it in the next

Sitting,

Sitting, and it was decreed in conſequence, that they ſhould be charged to take proper meaſures to prevent any private ſociety being held within the Buildings formerly belonging to the Feuillans and Capucins.

The Club of the Feuillans compelled to leave the Hall, eſtabliſhed itſelf elſewhere, preſerving its original denomination. We found ſome indirect means of defraying the expences of its ſecond eſtabliſhment; and this little ſervice infuſed more Royaliſm into the principles of the Conſtitutional Party, whom the inſults and triumph of the Jacobins had greatly exaſperated.

The Aſſembly having thus put an end to the quarrels between the Clubs, opened the diſcuſſion on the Report of the Committees, relative to the meaſures and preparations for War announced by the King. It was on this occaſion that *Briſſot*, who ſpoke firſt, made his famous Speech ſo often cited, and which is worthy of figuring among the moſt remarkable productions of the Revolution*.

He ſet out with taking a view of the reſpective intereſts and means of the different Powers of Europe, and laboured to prove that none

* See Appendix, No. VII.

of

of them could think ſeriouſly of entering into a war with France, or had the means of ſupporting it. It has been ſaid that this argument was not his own, and that he had only copied what *Adrian Duport* had ſpoken on the ſame ſubject, in the month of July 1789, at the Sitting of the Philanthropic Club, of which I gave an account in the former part of theſe Annals: *Chap.* 39. Certain it is, that the firſt part of *Briſſot*'s Speech both as to ſtyle and reaſoning is infinitely ſuperior to the concluſion, of which the chief merit conſiſts in diſplaying the inſolence, the perfidy, and the rabble-leading principles of one of the men who at that period poſſeſſed the greateſt influence in the Aſſembly, and at the Jacobins.

The *Coté-gauche* and the galleries laviſhed their applauſes on *Briſſot*. He was ſucceeded in the Tribune by M. *Herault de Séchelles*, from whom it was natural to expect very different ſentiments and principles. We had at firſt congratulated ourſelves on ſeeing among the Members of the Aſſembly, this young magiſtrate, who, under the old Government, and in the high ſituation of King's Advocate at the Chatelet, and Advocate General to the Parliament of Paris, had diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his amiable conduct, and by his talents, which were heightened by the advantages of a fine voice and a very handſome figure. But unfortunately, the vexation he had felt at having been eclipſed in the Parliament of Paris by the very ſuperior talents of M. *D'Ambret*, his colleague, ſtill rankled in his mind, and had hurried him into the Revolutionary party with the hope of finding in it rivals leſs formidable in the kind of glory to which his mortified ſelf-love the moſt aſpired. The principles of the moſt violent Republicaniſm adopted by that faction were alſo thoſe profeſſed by M. *Herault de Séchelles*, of which the Reader may judge by the following ſpecimen, extracted from the ſpeech he made at this Sitting :—

" There exiſts a grand conſpiracy againſt
" the liberty of the world. Wherever
" there is a throne, we have an enemy; but
" almoſt all the Ariſtocratic or Deſpotic
" Powers are involved in debt or ruined,
" and, in their poverty, they are aſſeſſing
" themſelves to overturn the French Con-
" ſtitution. From which of them have
" we any thing to dread? Can it be Ruſſia?
" The diſtance of the countries, the ex-
" pence

" pence of the laſt war, the exhauſted ſtate
" of its troops, the Grand Duke's party,
" which begins to ſhew itſelf, are all con-
" ſiderations that muſt convince us that
" *Catherine* can only offer the wrecks of
" her army, either though the oſtentation of
" protecting Princes, or the hope of col-
" lecting rebels. Can it be Sweden, which
" has lately diſcontinued the pay of its
" troops, which can ſcarcely make good
" the inſtalments of the 300 millions it is
" compelled by the Czarina to pay off in
" twelve years, and which ſhe threatens
" with an inſurrection at home? Can it be
" Spain, which could only complete its
" indigence? Can it be the King of Sar-
" dinia, who has more ſlaves in Piedmont
" than loyal ſubjects in Savoy, and whoſe
" debts exceed his revenues? Why, one of
" his ſons has already had the wit to ſay,
" *Let us make haſte to reign.* Can it be
" Holland, while the States are without
" power, and the Stadtholder finds himſelf
" under the neceſſity, from want of money,
" of diſmiſſing the troops that were in his
" pay?—England? The nation, which has
" ſome influence over the Government, will
" not conſent to a war with France. *Tippo*
" *Saib*

" *Saib* finds them employment in India;
" and the Miniſtry themſelves will wiſh us
" peace, for the purpoſe of ſecretly foment-
" ing our troubles, our eternal diviſions,
" and the anarchy that would ruin our
" manufactures. Can it be Pruſſia? The
" rich treaſures of the great *Frederic* are not
" to be laviſhed; and, beſides, ſhe would
" not be willing to leave herſelf expoſed on
" the ſide of Poland. It is moſt probable
" that the King of Pruſſia will take no part
" openly againſt France. He will ſway
" the country of Liege under pretence of
" the execution of the decrees of the Diet,
" and to afford the Emperor the means of
" drawing his troops from it.

" But what are we to think of *Leopold*
" himſelf? He has aſſembled a great num-
" ber of troops in Brabant. It is aſſerted
" that quarters are ready for thirty thouſand
" men more, and that, notwithſtanding the
" Conſtitution of the empire, it is an eſ-
" tabliſhed fact, that nothing is done in
" the Diet, nothing is done at the Imperial
" Court, but under the influence of the
" Houſe of Auſtria: ſtill it is the Emperor's
" intereſt not to violate treaties which will
" loſe their authority the moment we find

" that

" that *Leopold* is the declared enemy of
" France; it is his intereſt not to undertake
" a ruinous war in the preſent diſtreſſed
" ſituation of his finances, in the depopu-
" lated ſtate of Bohemia and Hungary, the
" conſequence of his war with the Turks;
" it is his intereſt not to awaken in Brabant
" a volcano, the terrible exploſion of which
" would perhaps throw Brabant itſelf into
" France: but our real ſecurity is in the
" very character of *Leopold*, who has been
" hitherto conſidered as a philoſopher as
" well as a Prince. His miniſters and
" courtiers may for a moment lead him
" away, but will not be able to corrupt a
" King, who ſeems to be thoroughly ſen-
" ſible that he owes an account of all his
" actions to inexorable hiſtory; and al-
" though he has let ſlip ſome menaces, he
" will not, by an unjuſt war, obliterate
" thirty years of glory and of virtue. Shall
" we notice the ratification which he has
" given to the decrees of the Diet, or, in
" fine, the rumoured project of a general
" Congreſs? Shall the will of ſome raving
" deſpots give law to twenty-five millions
" of men? Could it be with an army of
" allies, which our National Guards alone

" would

" would reduce to powder? And as for the
" Congreſs, were it to propoſe to us to
" parley on a ſingle article of the Conſtitu-
" tion, it would be enough to ſmile and paſs
" to the order of the day. Are we hence
" to conclude that we are not to make war?
" No; we muſt ſtill prepare vigorouſly for
" it, in order to ſhow that we have cal-
" culated our ſtrength and our means.
" Another meaſure ſeems to me to be ne-
" ceſſary. You have ſent a meſſage to the
" King, to expreſs your anxiety reſpecting
" the protection given by ſome Princes to
" the French Emigrants; I reſpect this ſtep
" as it was decreed, but by it you have
" almoſt releaſed the King from an obliga-
" tion prescribed to him by the Conſtitu-
" tion, that of giving notice, without delay,
" to the Legiſlative Body of all imminent
" hoſtilities, and ſurely no one will deny
" that thoſe in queſtion are very imminent.
" The anſwer which the King has ſent may
" be conſidered as a notice; but, that no
" doubt may be left for ſcrupulous con-
" ſciences, I demand that the King be re-
" queſted to give the notice in the Con-
" ſtitutional forms. In time of war, you
" may take meaſures which, in time of
" peace,

" peace, may appear too ſevere, and which " may afford you the means of filling the " Legiſlative vacuum which you have ex- " perienced by two ſuſpenſive *Vetos*. It is " at home you muſt wage war with the " rebels, before you carry it abroad. It will " make the decrees of accuſation and ſequeſt- " ration which you have adjourned legal. " Whatever meaſure you ſhall take for the " ſafety of the State will be juſt, as was " the conſular authority created by the " Romans in times of diſtreſs, *Ne quid* " *Reſpublica detrimenti capiat*. The mo- " ment is come to throw a veil over the " ſtatue of Liberty."

Condorcet ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of formally approving the meaſures taken by the King, in order to prove, in the moſt authentic manner, *the perfect harmony which reigned between his Majeſty and the Legiſlative Body*. He alſo propoſed the plan of a ſolemn declaration, to make known to the foreign Powers the principles and politics of France regenerated. This important declaration was generally admired and ap-

plauded, and was unanimouſly adopted. It was as follows :—

" At the moment when, for the firſt time " ſince the day of their liberty, the French " people may find themſelves reduced to " the neceſſity of exerciſing the terrible " right of war, the Repreſentatives owe to " the nation an account of the motives " which have induced them to approve " meaſures worthy of their courage, and to " Europe, a ſtatement of the principles " which ſhall direct the conduct of France.

" *The French nation will never under-* " *take any war with a view of making* " *conqueſts, and will never employ its* " *force againſt the liberty of any nation,* " *for ſuch is the text of the Conſtitution ;* " ſuch is the ſacred vow by which we have " connected our happineſs with the hap- " pineſs of all nations, and we will be true " to it.

" But who can conſider that as a friendly " territory where there is an army which " is only waiting the hope of ſucceſs to " attack us ? And is it not declaring war " againſt us, voluntarily to lend places, not " only to enemies who have declared it,

" but

" but to conſpirators who have long begun
" it?

" Every thing, therefore, calls imperiouſly upon the Powers eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution for the maintenance of peace and ſecurity, to employ force againſt the rebels, who, on a foreign land, are threatening to tear their country to pieces.

" The rights of nations infringed, the dignity of the French people outraged, the criminal abuſe of the King's name, which impoſtors uſe as a veil for their diſaſtrous projects, the diſtruſt kept up through every part of the empire by theſe malicious reports, the obſtacles thrown by that diſtruſt in the way of the execution of the laws, and of the re-eſtabliſhment of credit, the means of corruption employed to lead aſtray and ſeduce the citizens, the uneaſineſs in which the inhabitants of the frontiers live, the calamities to which any attempts, however fruitleſs, and however eaſily repelled, might expoſe them, the unpuniſhed outrages they have experienced in thoſe territories where the French rebels find an aſylum, the neceſſity of not giving thoſe rebels time to complete their preparations,

" and raiſing againſt their country more
" dangerous enemies: ſuch are our motives;
" never did there exiſt juſter or more urgent
" ones, and in the view we have here pre-
" ſented of them, we have rather palliated
" than exaggerated our wrongs; we have
" had no occaſion to rouſe the indignation
" of the citizens in order to call forth their
" courage.

" The French nation, however, will not
" ceaſe to ſee a friendly people in the
" inhabitants of countries where the re-
" bels aſſemble, and which are governed
" by Princes who protect them; nor ſhall
" peaceable citizens, whoſe armies over-
" ſpread the country, be conſidered as her
" enemies; they ſhall not even be her ſub-
" jects: the public force, of which the
" French nation ſhall become the tempora-
" repoſitory, ſhall be employed only to
" ſecure their tranquillity, and maintain
" the laws. Proud of having recovered the
" rights of nature, ſhe will not outrage
" them in other men: jealous of her inde-
" pendence, reſolved to bury herſelf under
" its ruins rather than ſuffer any one to
" preſume to dictate laws to her, or even to
" guarantee her own, ſhe will not attack

" the

" the independence of other nations. Her " ſoldiers will conduct themſelves on a " foreign land as they would conduct them- " ſelves on French land were they obliged " to combat there. Compenſation ſhall be " made for the unintentional calamities " cauſed by her troops to the citizens. The " aſylum which ſhe opens to foreigners ſhall " not be ſhut againſt the inhabitants of ſuch " countries whoſe Princes ſhall have com- " pelled her to attack them, and they ſhall " find in her boſom a ſafe refuge. She will " diſplay to Europe the view of a nation " truly free, faithful to the rules of juſtice " amidſt the ſtorms of war, and reſpecting " at all times, in all places, and with " all men, the rights which are the ſame " for all.

" Peace, which falſhood, intrigue, and " treaſon have interrupted, ſhall never ceaſe " to be the firſt of our wiſhes. France will " take up arms againſt her inclination for " her ſecurity, liberty, and internal tran- " quillity, and ſhe will joyfully lay them " down the moment ſhe is certain of having " no more to fear for that liberty, for that " equality, which are become the only ele- " ment in which the French can live. She

" does not dread war, but ſhe loves peace;
" ſhe knows ſhe ſtands in need of it, and is
" too ſenſible of her ſtrength to be afraid of
" confeſſing it.

" When requiring of other nations not
" to moleſt her tranquillity, ſhe religiouſly
" engaged never to moleſt theirs, perhaps
" ſhe deſerved to be attended to; perhaps
" that ſolemn declaration, that pledge of
" the peace and happineſs of neighbouring
" nations deſerved to obtain for her the
" good will of the Princes who govern
" them. But ſuch of thoſe Princes as may
" have feared that the French nation would
" endeavour to excite internal commotions
" in other countries, ſhall learn that the
" cruel right of repriſal, juſtified by cuſtom,
" but condemned by nature, will not induce
" her to have recourſe to thoſe means that
" are employed againſt her repoſe, that
" ſhe will be juſt even towards thoſe who
" are not ſo towards her, that ſhe will
" every where reſpect peace as ſhe does
" liberty; and that the men who think
" they may yet call themſelves the maſters
" of other men, ſhall have nothing to fear
" of her but her example.

" The French nation is free, and, what

" is

" is more than being free, ſhe is ſenſible of
" her liberty. She is free, ſhe is armed,
" and cannot be enſlaved. It will be in
" vain to depend on her inteſtine diſcords;
" ſhe is paſſed the dangerous moment of
" the reformation of her political laws,
" and too wiſe to prevent the leſſon which
" time will give, ſhe wiſhes only to main-
" tain and defend her Conſtitution.

" That diſagreement between two Powers
" iſſuing from the ſame ſource, and di-
" rected to the ſame end, that loſt hope of
" our enemies vaniſhed at the voice of the
" country in danger; and the King, by the
" ſerioufneſs of his conduct and the frank-
" neſs of his meaſures, diſplays before
" Europe the French nation powerful in all
" their means of defence and of happineſs.
" Reſigned to all the calamities which the
" enemies of mankind united may make
" them ſuffer, they will triumph over
" them by their courage and their patience,
" and, being victorious, they will ſeek
" neither compenſation nor vengeance.

" Such are the ſentiments of a generous
" people, whoſe repreſentatives have the
" honour of being here their interpreters.
" Such are the plans of the new politics

" they adopt; to repel force, reſiſt op-
" preſſion, to forget when there is nothing
" more to apprehend, and to ſee only
" brothers in their adverſaries when con-
" quered, reconciled, or diſarmed: this is
" what all nations ſhall find at the bottom
" of the heart of the French, and this is the
" kind of war which they declare againſt
" their enemies."

The Aſſembly adopted this plan of a declaration, and decreed that it ſhould be carried to the King by a deputation of twenty-four members, and ſent to the Eighty-three Departments, to the National Guards, and to the troops of the line. To this meſſage the King replied, *That the Aſſembly might reſt aſſured that he would always maintain the dignity of the nation.* The twenty millions of extraordinary ſupplies demanded by the Miniſter of War were voted unanimouſly. The queſtion whether the declaration *of the principles of France regenerated* ſhould be notified or communicated officially to the foreign Powers or not, was poſtponed.

Notwithſtanding the unanimity of applauſe and acclamation with which this declaration was voted, the conduct of the Aſſembly

Aſſembly has but too fully proved, on every occaſion that offered, that there was nothing but hypocriſy and art in thoſe ſentiments of moderation, philanthropy, and generoſity ſo emphatically proclaimed. Nor was their deſire of conſolidating more and more, and manifeſting in the moſt authentic manner the pretended *perfect harmony* exiſting between the King and the Legiſlative Body any ſincerer, as we may judge from what paſſed the ſame day in the Evening Sitting.

Two ſtorekeepers, convicted on their own confeſſion of enormous plunder, after being ſentenced in India to be confined and ſent to France, with the proceedings of their conviction, there to undergo their puniſhment, had, by force of money and intrigue, ſucceeded in obtaining an acquittal from the Tribunal of the Diſtrict of Quimpert, within whoſe jurisdiction the affair came by the ſuppreſſion of the old courts of juſtice. This deciſion had taken place without the knowledge of the Government, who ſhould have been the proſecutor, and conſequently without the proceedings relative to the conviction, which were in the office of my Department, having been produced.

The

The two plunderers, not ſatisfied with having eſcaped the capital puniſhment they had incurred, thought themſelves entitled to damages, and had the impudence to preſent a memorial to me, in which they demanded no leſs than fifty thouſand livres, alledging, in ſupport of this demand, a decree, by which the Aſſembly had granted an indemnity to a ſcore of worthleſs fellows, who, like themſelves, had been ſent to France by the Governor of Pondicherry. As this revolutionary juriſprudence did not appear to me to have yet acquired the force of law, I refuſed the demand of theſe ſtore-keepers with the indignation it deſerved. Of this they loudly complained, and at the inſtigation of my enemies denounced in the Evening Sitting of the 29th of December this act of juſtice, as an act of miniſterial deſpotiſm, cruelty, tyranny, &c.

The Aſſembly, without heſitation, granted them the honours of the Sitting. It was propoſed that I ſhould be ſummoned immediately to the bar, to give an account of my conduct. The propoſal was ſeconded, but not adopted: it was decreed, that the denunciation ſhould be referred to the Marine Committee, and that I ſhould in three days give

give an account of my conduct in this affair. This denunciation brought to mind that which the adminiſtrators of the Department of Finiſter had made againſt me, and of which the report was in the order of the day. It was moved that it ſhould be made immediately, which the Aſſembly ordered.

This denunciation had been referred to the Marine Committee on the 7th of December, that is, the day before they had made their report of that which had been preferred againſt me by the Jacobin Club of Breſt, and of which that of the Adminiſtrators of the Department of Finiſter was only a copy. It ſeemed as uſeleſs as it was irregular, that theſe two denunciations againſt the ſame perſon, upon the ſame facts, referred to the ſame Committee, and the ſame reporter, ſhould form two different affairs. I had therefore at firſt really thought that the report made by *Cavelier* on the 8th of December, was entirely at an end, and that the adminiſtrators of the Department of Finiſter had not been named in it, merely becauſe their name would have altered nothing as to the facts denounced, and added nothing to the proofs; but I ſoon learned that *Cavelier* did not reaſon in this way, and that he had determined

mined to ſeparate the two denunciators, only to have an opportunity of making two reports againſt me. In the firſt he did not dare to propoſe any rigorous meaſure againſt me, but contented himſelf with reporting, in an exaggerated ſtyle, all the calumnies laid by the Club of Jacobins againſt the officers of the Marine, and againſt me, concluding with a propoſal of ſuperſeding all officers who ſhould not repair to their departments before the 15th of January. The ſecond report was infinitely more laconic. *Cavelier*, unwilling to allow the emotion of anger which the petition of the Shopkeepers had juſt raiſed againſt me time to ſubſide, did not ſpeak for more than four or five minutes. He aſſerted with matchleſs impudence, that the Committee were in poſſeſſion of proofs of all the facts drawn up againſt me, and of the falſity of all thoſe which I had brought forward for my juſtification; that it was evident that I had attempted to deceive the Repreſentatives of the nation, the King, and all France; that I was guilty of a high miſdemeanor, &c. and he propoſed in conſequence to decree, that it ſhould be declared to the King, that I had loſt the confidence of the nation.

The

The more violent members of the *Coté-gauche* and the galleries repeatedly applauded this report, which the Aſſembly ordered to be printed, poſtponing the diſcuſſion of it till the Saturday following, the 31ſt of December. In this then conſiſted *that perfect harmony of the powers* ſo boaſted by Condorcet, and *ſo important to be manifeſted in the moſt authentic manner*. However, the diſcuſſion of this report was put off on my repreſenting, that the papers pretended to be proved, which were alluded to in it, but not quoted, were totally unknown to me, and that they could not be regularly produced againſt me, till they had been exhibited to me. The Aſſembly ordered them to be printed at the end of *Cavelier*'s report.

A far more important object engaged the ſitting of the 31ſt of December: the Miniſters went by the King's order to inform the Aſſembly of an official note communicated by the Chancellor of the Empire to the Ambaſſador of France at Vienna. This note, dated December 21ſt, was read by M. *de Leſſart*, and the ſubſtance of the contents was, "that the Elector of Treves had laid "before the Emperor an account of the de-"claration, which had been ſent to him by "the

" the King relative to the aſſembling of
" Emigrants on his territories, and to which
" the Elector had replied, that he had fol-
" lowed the regulations put in force in the
" Auſtrian Low Countries; but fearing that
" the apprehenſions excited by this declara-
" tion might be realiſed, he had applied to
" the Emperor for aſſiſtance; that the Em-
" peror, convinced of the moderate inten-
" tions of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, but
" having from daily experience grounds to
" fear that thoſe moderate intentions may
" not be generally adopted, and that in ſpite
" of the King's principles ſome act of vio-
" lence may be committed againſt the Elec-
" tor of Treves, had thought it incumbent
" upon him to direct Mareſchal *Bender* to
" give him the moſt effectual aſſiſtance;
" that the Emperor was too ſincerely at-
" tached to the King not to wiſh that theſe
" meaſures may be rendered uſeleſs by the
" maintenance of general tranquillity, and
" a good underſtanding between the crowns."

After this the following letter from the King to the Aſſembly, was read by the Keeper of the Seals:

" Gentlemen, I have directed the Mini-
" ſter for foreign affairs to communicate

" to

" to you the official information which the " Emperor has ſent to the Ambaſſador of " France at Vienna. This information, I " muſt ſay, has aſtoniſhed me exceedingly. " I had reaſon to depend upon the ſenti- " ments of the Emperor, and on his deſire " of preſerving a good underſtanding with " France, and all the relations which ought " to be kept up between two allies. I " cannot yet think that his diſpoſition is " changed, and I would gladly perſuade " myſelf that he has been deceived reſpect- " ing the truth of the facts; that he thought " that the Elector of Treves had attended to " all the duties of juſtice and good neigh- " bourhood, and that notwithſtanding this, " that Prince had grounds for apprehending " that his States would be expoſed to vio- " lence and particular inroads.

" In my anſwer to the Emperor, I re- " peat to him, that I had demanded of the " Elector of Treves, nothing but what was " juſt, nothing but what the Emperor had " himſelf ſet an example of: I bring to his " recollection the care taken by the French " Nation, to prevent without delay the aſ- " ſembling of the Brabanters, who appeared " diſpoſed to form themſelves into a body

" in

" in the vicinity of the Auſtrian Low Coun-
" tries; and I laſtly declare to him anew
" the wiſh of France for the preſervation of
" peace: but at the ſame time I declare to
" him that if at the period I have fixed,
" the Elector of Treves ſhall not have ef-
" fectually and really diſperſed the bodies
" aſſembled in his States, nothing ſhall pre-
" vent my propoſing to the National Aſſem-
" bly, as I have declared, to employ force
" of arms to compel him to it.

" If this declaration ſhould not produce
" the effect I hope it will, if France be
" doomed to combat with her ſons and with
" her allies, I will make known to Europe
" the juſtice of our cauſe, the French peo-
" ple will ſupport it by their courage, and
" the nation ſhall ſee that I have no in-
" tereſt but theirs, and that I ſhall always
" conſider the ſupport of their dignity and
" ſecurity as the moſt eſſential of my du-
" ties."

This letter was greatly applauded, but being relative to the meaſures to be taken in the actual ſituation of affairs, of which the diſcuſſion ſtood in order for the next day, it was poſtponed for conſideration at the ſame time.

Juſt

Juſt as we arrived at the Aſſembly, the Adminiſtrators of the Department of Paris, who had preſented themſelves according to cuſtom to pay their reſpects to the Legiſlative Body on the New Year, were diſmiſſed without being admitted. Their petition againſt the decree relative to the religious troubles had brought upon them this groſs piece of rudeneſs, to which the philanthropic *Paſtoret* attempted to give a philoſophical varniſh, by obſerving very gravely that the only reſpects worthy the Aſſembly, and the only compliments they had to receive, were the ſatisfaction and happineſs of the people. Another ſpeaker, ſtill a greater enemy to compliments, was of opinion, that it was not more worthy the Aſſembly to pay them, than to receive them; and propoſed in conſequence that they ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and neither given nor received. This was immediately decreed, without the ſlighteſt objection. Thus was aboliſhed the feeble remnant of the reſpectful attentions which the Firſt Aſſembly had conſidered it a duty to preſerve towards the King, and which the Second Aſſembly conſidered as a reſpect beneath them.

The evening Sitting of the laſt day of the old year was diſtinguiſhed by a Revolu-

tionary inſult of another kind. Switzerland, by virtue of her Sovereign Juriſdiction over the regiments ſhe ſent to France, a juriſdiction which had always been provided for by every treaty, and from which ſhe had never departed, had cauſed the Regiment of Chateauvieux, which had been the moſt active in the famous inſurrection of the garriſon of Nanci, in the month of Auguſt 1790, to be tried by Swiſs officers. The moſt guilty of the ſoldiers had been condemned to death to the number of twenty-four, the others were decimated, and forty-one of them had been ſentenced to the galleys and ſent to Breſt. The amneſty which was paſſed on the 14th of September for all crimes relative to the Revolution, was clearly inapplicable to theſe ſoldiers, as the right of annulling the acts of Sovereign Juriſdiction of a Foreign Power, belonged no more to the Aſſembly than to the King. So ſenſible were the Firſt Aſſembly of this, that notwithſtanding the great intereſt they took in the releaſe of the ſoldiers of Chateauvieux, they confined themſeves to requeſting the King to apply to the Helvetic Body for their pardon. The new Legiſlators of France thought theſe cautions puerile and inconſiſtent. "It is

"not

"not for the French Nation," ſaid they, "to be the gaolers of Europe; the Act of "Amneſty muſt extend to every part of "the Kingdom. The ſoldiers of Chateau-"vieux were unjuſtly condemned; they "were the victims of that traitor, the fero-"cious *Bouillé*: they idolized France, the "Conſtitution, and Liberty; their heroic "courage ſerved the Revolution from its "very cradle, and that was their crime." It was decreed in conſequence that the forty-one ſoldiers of Chateauvieux were included in the amneſty of the 14th of September, and that they ſhould be ſet at liberty.

Thus ended the firſt Quarter of the Seſſions of the Legiſlative Body, from which Hiſtory has nothing to collect but outrages heaped upon the King, in a multitude of petitions honourably mentioned in the Minutes, groſs inſults addreſſed to all the Powers in ſpeeches warmly applauded; abſurd and calumnious denunciations againſt the Miniſters always well received, arbitrary accuſations, impriſonments ordered without proofs, or any manner of inveſtigation, and ſeveral important decrees evidently contrary to the Conſtitution, ſuch as that which ſubjected annuitants to produce, before they were paid,

a certificate of ſix months reſidence, and thoſe paſſed againſt the prieſts, and againſt the Emigrants, to which the King refuſed his ſanction. Such a beginning ſufficiently ſhowed how eaſily this violent and audacious Aſſembly would fall into the moſt criminal abuſes of power, if, in default of the means of repreſſion, the moſt effectual means of influence were not employed to ſecure a majority of the Conſtitutional Party, who ſtill defended, and were deſirous of preſerving ſome remains of the throne which they had ſubverted.

The Aſſembly were not ſatisfied with aboliſhing, as a ceremony unworthy of the National Majeſty, the old cuſtom of expreſſing to the King on the New Year, wiſhes and compliments ſo long dictated by the pureſt Royaliſm; they were deſirous too that ſome act of ſtriking inſolence ſhould diſtinguiſh this period, and the 1ſt of January 1792, was the day they choſe for decreeing the Impeachment of the King's Brothers, and the Prince *de Condé*, as being guilty of an attempt and conſpiracy againſt the general ſafety of the State. M. *de Calonne*, M. *de Laqueuille* and M. *Mirabeau* the younger, were included in the ſame decree,

cree, as accomplices of the Princes; and M. *de Breteuil*, M. *de Bouillé*, and M. *D'Autichamp*, were left out only becauſe no one had been able to procure ſufficient intelligence of their conduct, after the amneſty which had been granted when the Conſtitution was accepted; but it was decreed that the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs ſhould as ſoon as poſſible tranſmit to the Diplomatic Committee, all the memorandums and information which *the Agents of the Nation at the different Courts of Europe* muſt have ſent to him on the ſubject.

The nation, that is the populace, who, it was ſaid, expected this Decree for their *New Year's Gift*, teſtified their ſatisfaction in the moſt clamourous manner, by the plaudits of the galleries; and the organization of the National Supreme Court, on which the Aſſembly employed themſelves in the next Sitting, gave *this good people* the hope and foretaſte of the happineſs of ſhortly ſeeing ſome of thoſe grand conſpirators tried, condemned to death, and above all of ſeeing them *executed*. The only difficulty was to get them into the priſons of Orleans, whither it was much eaſier to ſend the Miniſters, and I was then the firſt for that journey. The Marine

Committee declared loudly that they had more proofs than were neceſſary for the Decree of Impeachment againſt me, which was not ſaying much; that they were only waiting an anſwer to the new Denunciations againſt me by the Jacobin Club of Rochefort, to make their final report, and I had given out that I ſhould go to the Aſſembly on the 2d of January, for the purpoſe of giving that anſwer.

Relying on my innocence, and more ſtill on the ſupport I had ſecured in the galleries, by means of *the Conquerors of the Baſtille**, I appeared boldly in the Aſſembly, and refuted in the moſt deciſive manner all the heads of the denunciation drawn up againſt me. I was accuſed, 1ſt, of having betrayed the Nation, by ordering the Ships and Batteries at Breſt to be diſarmed, under the ſpecious pretext of preſerving the effects.

Secondly, of having miſ-employed the public monies in favour of ſeveral former Noblemen, by cauſing their appointments to be paid, although forfeited by their abſence.

Thirdly, of having granted orders for payments which were not due, and leaves

* See my Private Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 114.

of

of abſence with appointments to officers who were emigrating.

Fourthly, of having conſtantly rejected all applications that had been made to me relative to the new organization of the Navy.

Fifthly, of having deceived the Nation, the Aſſembly, and the King, by the letter which I had inſerted in the *Moniteur*, in which I affirmed, *that no officer of the Navy had quitted his poſt.*

The laſt charge was ſtill the one moſt inſiſted upon, and it was thought impoſſible that I could juſtify myſelf on that point, becauſe it was notorious that a great many officers of the Marine had emigrated, and were formed into a corps; and that the public papers mentioned the place of their aſſembling. My anſwers to theſe different charges, were as follows:

"Firſt, the arming of England had been "the cauſe of the extraordinary and expen- "ſive arming of a great part of our naval "force. England having diſarmed, France "had no longer cauſe for remaining armed; "and my reſponſibility would have been "very ſeriouſly affected, had I continued "unneceſſarily the extraordinary expence "of upwards of one hundred and ſixty

" thouſand livres a month, without compu-
" ting that ariſing from the damage of the
" ſtores.

" Secondly, whatever orders may be given
" by the Miniſters, the treaſurer is bound
" on his own reſponſibility, to pay no ap-
" pointments, unleſs certificates of reſidence
" required by the Decrees are produced,
" the Aſſembly may depend upon his accu-
" racy in this particular. Beſides the ap-
" pointments are only paid quarterly, and
" there has been no quarter elapſed ſince I
" have been in adminiſtration.

" Thirdly, I have granted orders for
" payment, and leaves of abſence with
" appointments but very rarely, and always
" in compliance with regulations not re-
" voked: beſides, I am anſwerable for the
" amount of all the payments of this kind,
" which ſhall not be judged lawful.

" Fourthly, the new organization of the
" Navy has been poſtponed ſolely becauſe
" it can be effected only partially, and with
" the greateſt inconveniences, ſo long as the
" laws which are to regulate the ſervice of
" the officers, and their relation with the
" adminiſtration, remain undecreed. I re-
" preſented theſe inconveniences to the Aſ-
" ſembly

" ſembly a few days after my appointment
" in the adminiſtration, and I have ſince ad-
" dreſſed ſeveral memorials to them, calling
" for thoſe laws, and ſhowing the neceſſity
" for them. The Aſſembly referred my
" repreſentations and my memorials to the
" Marine Committee, who were to draw up
" thoſe laws, but who have not as yet pro-
" poſed any of them, nor have they decided
" that I ſhould hold myſelf bound to have
" thoſe executed which were already de-
" creed.

" Fifthly, how can I be ſuſpected of an
" intention to conceal the emigration of a
" conſiderable number of the officers of the
" Navy, when it is known that the firſt act
" of my adminiſtration, was the propoſing
" to the King a letter, the ſole object of
" which was to invite thoſe officers to re-
" turn to the Kingdom, that that letter was
" adopted by his Majeſty, and inſerted in
" all the public papers?

" That which had appeared in the *Moni-*
" *teur*, and in which I ſaid, *that not a ſin-*
" *gle officer of the Navy had quitted his*
" *poſt*, evidently refers only to the officers
" actually employed in the Ports, for it is

" only

" only thoſe whom the law of the firſt of " July laſt obliges to reſide, and conſe- " quently the only ones who have a poſt; " now, I ſaid with truth on the 14th of " November laſt, and I here repeat it, that " none of thoſe officers have quitted their " poſts ſince my appointment in the mini- " ſtry. The truth of this aſſertion is de- " monſtrated by the returns of the month " of October and November. Thoſe two " authentic documents are in the hands of " the Reporter of the Committee. I defy " him to mention a ſingle officer in the firſt " who is not alſo inſerted in the ſecond. I " have then performed my duty, I have " been faithful to my Country and King; " their enemies ſhall always be mine, " and I truſt I ſhall never deſerve any " others."

I alſo in the ſame Sitting refuted the denunciation exhibited againſt me by the two ſtorekeepers of Trincomale, (*Abadie* and *Gallet*,) whom I mentioned before, and I omitted nothing to make it apparent, how indecent it was that a Miniſter ſhould be forced to devote a part of his time to repel ſeriouſly the abſurd and diſguſting

diſguſting calumnies, which ſuch rogues ventured to allege againſt him.*

The clearneſs of the proofs with which my defence was ſupported, and the applauſes it had obtained, raiſed my credit and popularity ſufficiently to appriſe my enemies, that the moment for propoſing ſucceſsfully the decree of impeachment againſt me was not yet arrived; and accordingly the report of the Marine Committee, which was to have followed ſo cloſely on my anſwer, was reſerved for a more favourable opportunity. But in the mean time as it was of conſequence not to leave the National Supreme Court, juſt erected, without buſineſs, the Aſſembly provided it ſome the very next day by decreeing the impeachment of thirty-nine officers of the garriſon of Perpignan, and eight private inhabitants of the ſame town, all accuſed of having formed a plot to deliver Perpignan to the enemies of France. Not that the town of Perpignan was beſieged, or even France in a ſtate of war with any

* It was in this Sitting decreed, after long debates, that all the public Acts, Civil, Judiciary, and Diplomatic, ſhould be dated from the Æra of Liberty, reckoning the 1ſt of January 1792 as the firſt day of the fourth year.

Power

Power of Europe; but the patriotiſm of thoſe times conſiſted eſſentially in always ſeeing great conſpiracies even in the ſimpleſt events, and the moſt intricate and doubtful circumſtances were always accounted for by that ſingle word. Of this number was the affair of the garriſon of Perpignan. The regiments of which it was compoſed had experienced, like all the reſt of the army, the fatal effects of the Revolutionary maxims, and of the manœuvres of the Jacobins. The diſagreement between the officers and the ſoldiers, and the inſubordination of the latter, had from time to time produced quarrels, in which it ſeems that the people had taken ſome part. Be that as it may, in the night of the 6th of December 1791, the officers of the 20th Regiment, formerly the Cambray Regiment, went to the houſe of M. *de Chollet* the Commanding General of the Diviſion, urged him to retire into the citadel, pretending that his life was in danger, and threatened, if he refuſed, to carry him thither by force. He yielded to their entreaties, and they then went to the quarters of the regiment, and ordered the ſoldiers to repair to the Citadel to defend their commander. The ſoldiers declared that they would

would not ſtir without a written order given by M. *de Chollet.*

M. *Deſbordes* the Lieutenant Colonel, a zealous patriot arrives in a few minutes with this order, which he begins to read with emotion, and gives to a ſerjeant to finiſh; the ſoldiers all cry that they will not quit their quarters where they were placed by the Municipality, whoſe orders alone they will obey. M. *de Chollet* goes to the department, and declares that he was compelled to ſign the order. Patroles of National Guards are ordered, and ſet out with a municipal officer at their head. The officers ſhut themſelves up in the citadel, and next day ſome muſkets are fired from it. On this the National Guards, Foot and Horſe, and the troops of the line commanded by M. *Leſbordes*, march up to the citadel at the deſire of the Adminiſtrative Courts, there reſtore order, and arreſt the officers and ſome citizens who had joined them: theſe are ſent together to the town priſons for ſafety. The Procureur General Syndic denounces M. *de Chollet* to the public accuſer for ſigning an order contrary to the lawful directions of the Municipality; the 20th Regiment is ſent off to Coullioure; all the

the officers who were not arreſted diſappear, and one of them blows his brains out in Spain with a piſtol.

Such are the heads, given as accurately as poſſible, of the report which was made to the Aſſembly by the Military Committee, on the great conſpiracy of Perpignan. Only two depoſitions are mentioned in it, the one by a ſtorekeeper, who declared that M. *de Saillant*, commanding officer of the 12th regiment of *Chaſſeurs*, had applied to him for arms, powders, and 150 caſes of cartrides of twenty balls each; the other, by a deſerter of the 20th Regiment, who had depoſed at Toulouſe, that he had left the regiment without leave, with a few more of his comrades, to avoid taking part in the plots laid by the officers.

In this report there was nothing to ſhow that the uneaſineſs of the officers on the danger which threatened M. *de Chollet* was groundleſs, nor why that commander had rendered himſelf ſo guilty by the forced ſignature of an order which had not been executed, and which he had himſelf gone immediately to denounce to the Department. No more did the Reporter explain on whom, or on what occaſion, the muſkets from the Citadel

Citadel had been fired, or whether by the officers or by the citizens, who had joined them with a good or bad deſign, and who had ſuffered themſelves to be arreſted with them without the ſlighteſt reſiſtance. What credit could be due to the depoſition of a deſerter endeavouring to juſtify his deſertion, by accuſing the officers of laying plots? what proof was there to be found in the declaration of the ſtorekeeper? might not a colonel apply for arms and ammunition for his regiment when wanted, without being ſuſpected of a conſpiracy againſt the State?

With all this uncertainty and obſcurity, the impeachment was decreed by the Aſſembly without the ſlighteſt proof*. About fifty perſons were, in conſequence of this decree, ſent to the priſons of the National Supreme Court of Orleans, which they left only to be maſſacred at Verſailles.

Theſe acts of ſeverity, as abſurd as they were atrocious, did not prevent ſeditious

* It was ſaid by one of the members preſent on this occaſion, *La Croix*, that it required no more proofs for decreeing an impeachment than for arreſting, and this atrocious maxim, adopted by the Aſſembly, coſt the lives of M. *de Chollet*, and the officers of the 20th Regiment, who had been arreſted at Perpignan only for their ſafety, and to ſcreen them from the fury of the people.

commotions,

commotions, and frequently bloody ſcenes, from taking place in almoſt all the garriſon towns, in conſequence of the want of ſubordination among the troops. The interior of the kingdom was not more tranquil; the ſcarcity and exceſſive dearneſs of proviſions alarmed the people, obſtructed the circulation of corn, and very frequently cauſed diſturbances and inſurrections, which the government had no means of preventing, and which the public force was incapable of ſuppreſſing. On our frontiers, rogues, egged on and perhaps hired by the agents of the Jacobins, who wiſhed for war, committed depredations on the neighbouring States, inſulted the inhabitants, and even the troops, when they found themſelves the ſtronger.

On this occaſion, the King iſſued a proclamation, by which the adminiſtrative bodies, the general officers, and commanding officers of the National Guards and troops *of the line, were enjoined to pay the ſtricteſt attention, in ſeeing that all foreign territories were inviolably reſpected*—that all foreigners, of whatever nation, who might be in France, enjoyed the rights of hoſpitality, and the protection of the laws, at the ſame time

time conforming to them—and that no altercation took place between the inhabitants or troops of the reſpective frontiers *.

So decided was the wiſh of the majority of the Aſſembly for war, that they almoſt conſidered the pacific and friendly declaration given by the Elector of Treves, in anſwer to the laſt official note of the Miniſter of France, as a piece of bad news. This declaration, grounded ſolely on the Elector's ſincere wiſh of giving the King a mark of his reſpect, attachment, and eagerneſs to maintain harmony between France and the Electorate, contained a formal engagement to diſperſe all that bore the denomination of a military corps in eight days, or oblige them to leave the Electorate; to prohibit all aſſembling; every kind of military exerciſe; all foreign recruiting; all providing of arms and warlike proviſions whatever, under very ſevere penalties; and to forbid horſes meant to mount cavalry, and artillery deſigned for the Emigrants, to enter the Electorate. The

* This proclamation, which was iſſued on the 4th of January, was inſerted in the *Moniteur* of the 8th of January, and in all the Daily papers.

reading of this declaration was neither interrupted nor followed by any applauſe; the Aſſembly very frigidly ordered it to be referred to the Diplomatic Committee, and broke up the Sitting.

Before war was finally determined upon, it was prudent to inquire whether France were really in a ſtate or not to engage in it, and to know the ſtate of the army, of our frontier towns, our proviſions, &c. all which was to be aſcertained by the tour which M. *de Narbonne* had now nearly completed. In the mean time, the daily papers of Paris regularly gave the bulletins of his progreſs, publiſhed the compliments addreſſed to him, and thoſe returned by him, and in this manner kept up his popularity. The impatience for his return became extreme, when at length he arrived on the 17th of January at night; and although his journey, which had only taken a fortnight, had been ſo rapid, that one wondered he could have gone over ſo many miles in ſo ſhort a time, he gave as circumſtantial an account of the ſtate of the fortifications and of the armies, as an inſpector could have done after an examination of ſix months. The brilliant re-

port * he gave of them to the Aſſembly excited the moſt lively enthuſiaſm, and diſſipated all doubts of the poſſibility of undertaking a war, and of the means of ſupporting it. It was thought that there could be no danger to be apprehended with a Miniſter, who diſplayed ſo much activity, and poſſeſſed ſo many reſources.

* See Appendix, No. VIII.—One part appeared in the *Moniteur* of January 14, 1792, and the other in the ſame paper of the 16th. For more reſpecting M. *de Narbonne*, I muſt refer to my Private Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 246, and other paſſages, according to the heads of the Chapters.

CHAPTER VII.

Report of the Marine Committee reſpecting M. Bertrand poſtponed—Report of the Diplomatic Committee on Prince Kaunitz' official Note—Gaudet's violent Motions in Conſequence—Satisfactory Diſpatches received by M. de Leſſart from Coblentz—His prudent Advice on the Occaſion—Briſſot's Speech for immediate War—The Abbé Fauchet's Speech on the Subject—Iſnard's—Queſtion reſpecting the completing of the Army—M. de Narbonne's Speech—The Mode adopted by

...by the Aſſembly—Decree relative to the official Note from Prince Kaunitz—Manœuvres of the Marine Committee againſt M. Bertrand.

THE wrangling of which I had been the object was ſo pitiful, ſo evidently unjuſt, and my moſt inveterate perſecutors, the *Caveliers*, *Rouhiers*, *Fauchets*, and *Mailhes*, were wretches ſo generally deſpiſed, that the many informations daily given me of their manœuvres and projects againſt me, were infinitely more troubleſome than alarming. "They may attempt to aſſaſſinate me," I replied, "and I ſhall be on my guard againſt "them; but I defy them to obtain a decree "of impeachment againſt me." At length the 13th of January was the day choſen by the Marine Committee for finally ſubmitting this grand affair to the deciſion of the Aſſembly. This report, and the debate upon it, almoſt occupied the whole of this Sitting. Above thirty Members had declared their intention to ſpeak, and had had their names ſet down to be admitted to the tribune in their turn, but they could not all be heard.

The Reporter (*Cavelier*) ſuppoſing, no doubt, that the Aſſembly had totally forgotten my defence, aſſerted, with his uſual effrontery, that my anſwers to the firſt report of the Committee were nothing more than declamations, and that to thoſe declamations he ſhould oppoſe only facts. He confined himſelf, however, to repeating the ſame falſities reſpecting the number of leaves of abſence which I had given or renewed, and reſpecting the letter which I had cauſed to be inſerted in the *Moniteur;* but he did not point out a ſingle leave of abſence granted contrary to any regulation; and inſtead of anſwering the defiance which I had given to mention a ſingle officer inſerted in the returns of the month of October, whoſe preſence was not proved by the returns for November, he blundered upon the names of M. *Hector*, M. *de Vaudreuil*, and M. *de Soulanges*, who had emigrated, or given in their reſignation before my entrance into the Miniſtry. The other articles of impeachment were dropped, as having been ſufficiently explained, and yet the Reporter concluded with propoſing that the Aſſembly ſhould declare to the King that I had loſt the confidence of the nation.

Rouhier

Rouhier maintained with all the force of his lungs, that this propoſal was much too lenient. "Let us beware," ſaid he, "of "a falſe compaſſion. It is by impunity "crime is encouraged. Thoſe of M. *Ber-* "*trand* are manifeſt, and far more nume- "rous than you imagine. He has lately "been diſcharging the vengeance of his "predeceſſor againſt good citizens. In "1791, M. *Bonjour*, a clerk in the Navy "Office, made the Aſſembly acquainted "with a petty trick of the Miniſter then in "place. What's the conſequence? M. "*Bertrand* has diſmiſſed him, to teach him "that Miniſters are not to be denounced "with impunity. I think, therefore, that "the propoſal of the Committee is inſuffi- "cient, becauſe either the Miniſter is guilty, "or he is not. If he is not guilty, we "ſhould ſay ſo at once; if, on the contrary, "he is guilty, as I think he is, he ſhould "be impeached."

Mailhe ſtrongly ſupported this opinion, and ſaid that even the ſlight faults of a Miniſter ought to be puniſhed ſeverely, becauſe they endangered the State; that the means of eſtabliſhing complete harmony

between the two Powers, was to be inflexible reſpecting the crimes of the Miniſtry. "Send M. *Bertrand*," added he, "before "the awful tribunal of Orleans, and the "people will be eaſy, as they will no longer "have to fear being betrayed by his agents." The galleries teſtified, by unanimous plaudits, that they were of the ſame opinion.

I was defended both warmly and ſolidly by ſeveral Deputies with whom I was not acquainted; and particularly by M. *Benguot*, M. *Vaublanc*, and M. *Forfait**; the laſt of whom, who was a Member of

* In naming theſe gentlemen, I cannot but yield to my deſire of thanking them, not for their juſtice, which it was their duty to do, but for their courage; and it required a great deal to defend innocence in this Aſſembly. A Deputy from Bourgignon, who voted in my favour, and whoſe name I am ſorry to ſay I have forgotten, experienced a cruel proof of this. His houſe was burned to the ground in the month of February, and it was noted to him, on the part of the incendiaries, by an anonymous letter, that this chaſtiſement had been inflicted upon him as a puniſhment for the treaſon againſt the nation, which he had committed, in taking the part of a perfidious Miniſter! This atrocity was mentioned in ſeveral Journals, and particularly in the French Mercury.

the

the Marine Committee, vouched very formally, *that from the beginning of this affair he had continually demanded of the Committee the names of the officers employed in the ſervice, who had really abſented themſelves without leave, but that he had never yet been able to obtain an anſwer.*

The debate became ſo tumultuous, and laſted ſo long, that it was ſix o'clock in the afternoon before the Sitting was broken up, when the diſcuſſion was adjourned to that day week; and it was ordered, that in the mean time all the documents on which the Committee founded their opinions ſhould be printed.

What could be the motive of ſuch animoſity, and how could the Repreſentatives of the Nation, aſſembled to deliberate on the greateſt intereſts, attach ſo much importance to ſo paltry and indecent a proceeding? How did they dare to conſume ſo many Sittings in arguing about the ſignification of the word *poſt*, and in deciding whether, for not having divined that which it pleaſed the Marine Committee to beſtow on that word, I ought to be declared ſuſpected of high treaſon,

treaſon, and ſent before the National Supreme Court *?

Theſe cenſures, which were repeated in the Anti-Jacobin Journals, ſpoke the opinion of the ſenſible part of the public. The Aſſembly felt the neceſſity of diverting their attention from them, and of making them forget, by ſome very brilliant deliberation, the reproach and ſarcaſms which the Sitting of the 13th had brought upon them. In conſequence, the Diplomatic Committee made their report on the official note communicated by Prince *Kaunitz* to our ambaſſador at Vienna, and ſubmitted the following queſtions to the Aſſembly:

1ſt, What is our political ſituation in regard to the Emperor, and what have we to fear from his deſigns?

2dly, Can we conſider this laſt ſtep as an act of hoſtility on the part of the Emperor, and ought we, by attacking him, to accelerate the moment of a rupture, which muſt be very near at hand?

* As this wretched wrangling related to myſelf, I ſhould have greatly curtailed the particulars, had they not appeared to me neceſſary, to give an accurate notion of the compoſition, character, and ſpirit of this Aſſembly.

3dly,

3dly, Ought we to confine ourſelves to demanding of the Emperor, within a ſhort time, explanations ſo clear and preciſe, as to leave us no longer in doubt reſpecting his intentions, or that his refuſal might leave us no longer any excuſe for not declaring war?

"It is time," ſaid the Reporter of the Committee, (*Genſonné*,) in his exordium, "it is full time to give the French nation "the poſture it becomes them to maintain "with foreign nations, to ſignalize their "independence, to caſt off thoſe dark poli- "tics which tend to give the Revolution a "retrograde motion, and to ſubject our in- "ternal government to the influence of "ſome foreign Princes, and the general "will of a great people to laws not made "by themſelves. It is time to extinguiſh "theſe embers of uneaſineſs, by which the "leaven of inteſtine war may continue fer- "menting, and to give to all nations a "ſtriking proof of the energy and courage "of the French."

The ſpeaker then taking a view of the Emperor's conduct ſince the period of the Revolution, and without aſcending to our old complaints againſt Auſtria, fixed the attention

attention of the Aſſembly principally on the combination of the Powers directed by the Court of Vienna againſt the liberty of the French nation; cited the clauſe of the treaty of Pilnitz, relative to the affairs of France; the notes by which the Emperor had formally manifeſted the wiſh of *putting a ſtop to every undertaking prejudicial to the dignity of the King*; the threatening letter written from Luxembourg by M. *de Bouillé*, which had never been diſavowed; the protection granted to the Elector of Treves; the prohibition againſt wearing the national colours; the permiſſion to wear the white cockade; and, above all, the aſylum and ſuccours granted to the Emigrants, *thoſe men, ſo beſotted by prejudices, as to abandon their country, while ſhe was laying the foundations of her happineſs!* From all theſe facts, he concluded that the Emperor had openly violated the treaty of 1755. "It is more than probable," added he, "that this coalition of the Powers, formed "by the Emperor himſelf, and which he "flatters himſelf that he ſhall direct as he "pleaſes, is only meant to frighten us by "the ſhow of force, and to lead us inſen-"ſibly to conſent to a Congreſs which "might

" might modify our conſtitution, might
" overturn the principle of the equality of
" rights, and might give an almoſt abſolute
" authority to the throne. Such is the pro-
" ject of this coalition: it has perhaps been
" formed in the heart of France, whence
" ſecret intelligence has kept up the hope of
" its being adopted. But a nation of twenty-
" four millions of free men, who wiſh only
" for liberty, and wiſh for it completely, are
" not likely to degrade themſelves ſo much
" as to ſubmit their ſovereignty to the will
" of a few deſpots. It is not at a moment
" when the fermentation of the Revolution
" ſtill agitates every mind, when the flame
" of liberty fires every heart, that the
" French would conſent to a capitulation,
" which would leave them only an obſcure
" proſpect of ſlavery or death. To you, who
" are charged to ſpeak in the name of the
" people, and to whom they have confided
" their deareſt intereſts, it belongs to make
" them ſenſible of the danger which threatens
" them, and to point out to them their real
" enemies; for they will be ſubdued, as
" ſoon as they are unmaſked. It is your
" part to inquire whether, from the Em-
" peror's conduct, this laſt note ought not

" to

" to be conſidered as an act of hoſtility,
" and whether war ought not to be entered
" upon *without being offenſive*. This ſalu-
" tary criſis will raiſe the nation to the
" height of its deſtiny, and *will reſtore*
" *credit*. A beneficent genius ſeems watch-
" ing over the fate of the Conſtitution.
" The feeble dike oppoſed to the torrent of
" liberty ſerves but to augment its violence.
" In a ſimilar ſituation, *Frederic* the Great
" withſtood the efforts of the league which
" the Court of Vienna had formed againſt
" him, only by anticipating their projects;
" he attacked them: a ſudden irruption
" ſecured upon his head a crown, which
" the leaſt delay might have plucked from
" it.

" The anſwer which the King has al-
" ready given to the official note from the
" Emperor has appeared ſuitable to the
" dignity of the nation. You ſhould ap-
" plaud the firmneſs which the King of
" France has ſhown, and ſend him a meſ-
" ſage to expreſs the public acknowledg-
" ment. You ſhould invite him to demand
" of the Emperor the cleareſt and moſt
" preciſe explanations of his intentions in
" regard to France; in a word, ſuch an

" anſwer

" anſwer as ſhould no longer leave the
" leaſt uneaſineſs, or ſhould make known
" the hoſtile meaſures that are preparing,
" that all Europe may be convinced of the
" neceſſity France is under to prevent them.
" Tell the King that they deceive him who
" perſuade him that the rebels retain any
" attachment for him; that he would be-
" come their firſt victim; that he would be
" obliged to bow under the yoke of an in-
" ſolent ariſtocracy, who would place them-
" ſelves around him, and, in his name,
" exerciſe the moſt inſupportable tyranny,
" while they left him only the externals of
" Royalty: tell him alſo, that they deceive
" him who talk to him of a congreſs of
" foreign Powers as a means of giving new
" influence to the authority delegated to
" him; that the object of ſuch a congreſs
" would be to make the French nation
" undergo the loweſt degree of abaſement
" and ſhame, to degrade the King himſelf
" by an humiliating ſubordination, and to
" render him in ſome ſort the Viceroy of
" one of the Provinces of Auſtria. Tell
" him, in fine, that war is neceſſary, that
" the public opinion calls for it, that the
" ſafety of the State compels him to it;

" that

" that the nation deſire that he will give
" them ſignal proofs of his attachment;
" that he will ſacrifice for them every con-
" ſideration inconſiſtent with the welfare
" of the country; that they expect from
" their King a conduct firm, conſtant, and
" faithful, of which the confidence and
" love of the nation will be the reward."

This report, which was unanimouſly applauded by the Aſſembly and the galleries, concluded with a plan for a decree to this effect; that the King ſhould be requeſted to demand of the Emperor, to make known, before the 10th of February enſuing, by clear and preciſe explanations, his intentions in regard to France, and whether, in caſe of her being attacked, he would furniſh her with the ſuccours he is bound to do by virtue of the ninth article of the treaty of the month of May 1756; that a refuſal to give the ſaid explanations ſhould be conſidered by the nation as a rupture, and as an act of hoſtility againſt her on the part of the Emperor; that the King ſhould alſo be requeſted to give the moſt particular orders for continuing and haſtening as much as poſſible the preparations for war, and the aſſembling of troops

on

on the frontiers, ſo that they may be in a ſtate to act on the ſhorteſt notice.

The Aſſembly ordered this report to be printed, and poſtponed the diſcuſſion of it till the Tueſday following, January 17th. But ſcarcely was this decreed, when the Preſident (*Guadet*), greatly ſcandalized and provoked at the plan of a congreſs mentioned by the Reporter, darted from his chair to the tribune, and vented his patriotic indignation in the following terms:

"What then is this plot laid againſt the "country, and how long ſhall we ſuffer the "enemies of France to moleſt her with "their manœuvres, and inſult her with their "hopes? If it be true that theſe intrigues have "been directed by men who think them a "means of raiſing themſelves from the poli-"tical nullity into which they have ſunk*, "ſhould

* This charge, which was made with ſtill more energy in the plan for an addreſs moved the ſame day by M. *Heraut de Séchelles*, was aimed at the principal Members of the Conſtitutional Party of the Firſt Aſſembly. They were generally ſuſpected, and on good grounds, of wiſhing to put an end to the revolution by a congreſs, whoſe object was to be the reviving of the ſyſtem of the two chambers, and to enforce its adoption, as the only means which France had to prevent

" ſhould the National Aſſembly ſhut their
" eyes to ſuch a danger? Let us then in-
" form all the Princes that the French na-
" tion are reſolved to maintain their Con-
" ſtitution entirely, or to periſh entirely
" with it. Let us beforehand point out a
" place to traitors, and let that place be the
" ſcaffold. I move that it be decreed at
" this very time, that the French nation
" regard as infamous traitors to the coun-
" try, and guilty of the crime of treaſon
" againſt the nation, every agent of the
" Executive Power, every Frenchman [*Here
" ſeveral voices cried,* Every Legiſlator]
" who ſhould take part, directly or indirect-
" ly, in any congreſs the object of which

a general war. The public papers gave it out, *that M.* de St. Croix, *our Miniſter to the Elector of Treves, was favourable to that ſyſtem, which was alſo that of the Baron* de Breteuil, *but not that of the Princes, whom, however, the advocates for it did not deſpair of converting.* (See the *Moniteur of the 20th of January, under the head of Coblentz.)* But, to conſider this chimerical project as a ſubject of alarm, it muſt have been forgotten, that in France the Royaliſts were no leſs averſe to it than the Jacobins, and that the Conſtitutional Party, who engaged in it through the deſire or the habit of intriguing, and with the hope of ſtill playing a part, were reduced to a very ſmall cabal, without any means, credit, or influence whatſoever.

" ſhould

" ſhould be the obtaining of any modifi-
" cation whatever of the Conſtitution, or
" in any mediation between the nation and
" the rebels, or, laſtly, in any compoſition
" with the Princes who had poſſeſſions in
" Alſace. And I alſo move, that this de-
" claration ſhould be immediately carried
" to the King, with a requeſt, that he
" would make it known to all the Princes
" of Europe, and declare to them that he
" ſhould conſider every Prince who mani-
" feſted an intention of injuring the Con-
" ſtitution as an enemy to France."

Theſe motions were interrupted at almoſt every word by ſhouts of *Bravo! Bravo!* and by endleſs clapping. Scarcely had the Speaker ceaſed ſpeaking, when all the Members of the Aſſembly roſe at once, as quick as lightning, and, with new acclamations and oaths, expreſſed their unanimous adherence to the declaration they had juſt heard. The galleries warmly partaking this enthuſiaſm, mingled their acclamations and their oaths with thoſe of the Aſſembly. The ſhouts of " Yes, yes, the Conſtitution " or death," a thouſand times repeated, and a thouſand times clapped, reſounded through the hall and adjacent places for more than a

quarter of an hour; and it was with a great deal of trouble that the President obtained ſilence for the reading of the liſt of the Commiſſioners who were to compoſe the deputation charged with preſenting this famous decree to the King.

M. *Duport du Tertre* and M. *de Leſſart*, who happened by chance to be at this Sitting, and who, from their known connection with M. *Duport* and M. *Lameth*, were ſuſpected of being attached to the Conſtitutional Party, ſaw no other means of averting the fatal conſequences of ſuch a ſuſpicion than that of yielding with a good grace to the enthuſiaſm, or rather to the delirium, which prevailed in the Aſſembly; they therefore put up their hands, and M. *de Leſſart* repeated for himſelf and his colleagues the patriotic cry of *the Conſtitution or death*. The Aſſembly ſhowed their ſatisfaction at this by great clapping. We all went the ſame day, in the Evening Sitting, to announce that the King had ſanctioned the declaration which they had decreed, and, at the ſame time, the Speaker of the deputation ſtated his Majeſty's reply, which was in theſe words:—"You know "my attachment to the Conſtitution; aſ-

"ſure

"ſure the National Aſſembly that I will "neglect nothing that can contribute to its "eſtabliſhment."

This reply was greatly applauded by the Aſſembly; but it did not make them forget that the time fixed by their proclamation for the return of the Princes expired on the 15th of January; and they decreed in conſequence, that on the 16th, at the opening of the Sitting, the Committee of Legiſlation ſhould preſent a form of declaration for the forfeiture of the Regency incurred by MONSIEUR, the King's brother, according to the Conſtitutional act; and that Prince who, on the firſt of January, was decreed to be impeached, was, on the 16th, declared unanimouſly to have forfeited his right to the Regency.

On the ſame day M. *de Leſſart* received the moſt ſatisfactory diſpatches from Coblentz. M. *de St. Croix* informed him that the diſperſion of the Emigrants was as real and as complete as the nation could deſire; that the cannon, ammunition, flour, &c. were, or would be, ſold; that the markets of the purveyors were broken up; that the foreign Powers would grant no ſuccours to the Emigrants; that the Cardinal *de*

Rohan had received an order from the Emperor not to tolerate in his domains any hoſtile aſſembling; that the Emperor had announced that he was ready to protect all the States of the empire, and particularly thoſe that had been aggrieved, but that he had promiſed at the ſame time to prevent any one from encouraging aſſemblings, and from diſturbing of their own accord the harmony ſubſiſting between the Empire and France. M. *de Leſſart* haſtened to read theſe diſpatches to the Aſſembly, in the hope that ſuch good news would calm their anger, and diſpoſe them to more moderation and juſtice in the important debate which had been poſtponed to the following day*. He did not ſtop there; he went to the next Sitting, with the approbation of the King, who wiſhed above every thing to avoid war, and repreſented to the Aſſembly in the ſtrongeſt manner the extreme importance of being on their guard againſt every determination that was not dictated by prudence and by juſtice. He invoked the Conſtitution, called to mind the oaths that had been taken, the great principles of the

* On Prince *Kaunitz*' laſt note.

rights

rights of nations, and what the dignity of the nation and the ſafety of the empire demanded. He urged, that the cautions ſuggeſted by a wiſe and juſt policy ought to be preferred to all meaſures that tended to provoke a reaſonable reſentment, ſuch as that which ſhould imperiouſly allow the Empire and the Emperor a few days to explain their intentions. He obſerved, that the King had employed means as firm, but more conciliatory. "You muſt be ſenſible, gentle-
"men," ſaid he in concluding, "how eſ-
"ſential it is not to counteract the effect
"of a negociation ſo important. You
"muſt alſo be ſenſible of what the King
"on ſuch an occaſion has a right to expect
"on your part: a confidence due to him
"for the ſake of maintaining peace, which
"is your deſire as well as his, though
"without fearing war; a confidence due to
"him for the proofs which he has given of
"his zeal and vigilance in the intereſts of
"the nation. I conclude with a reflection,
"which ſhould alone ſuffice to direct your
"prudence to the choice of means proper
"to preſerve peace, and which is, that the
"moſt juſt and the leaſt unfortunate of

" wars is ſtill too productive a ſource of
" injuſtice and of calamity."

Theſe wiſe repreſentations produced very little effect. *Briſſot;* who was the firſt that took poſſeſſion of the tribune after the report of the Diplomatic Committee, ſpoke for more than two hours, and was more inſolent than ever, as may be ſeen from the very brief abſtract I ſhall here give of his ſpeech.

" At length the maſk is fallen—your real
" enemy is known. The order given to
" General *Bender* tells you his name; it is
" the Emperor. The Electors were but
" his veil, the Emigrants only an inſtrument
" in his hand. You muſt now deſpiſe the
" Emigrants; it belongs to the National
" Supreme Court to avenge the nation for
" the rebellion of thoſe mendicant Princes.
" Nor are the Electors more worthy of
" your anger; fear proſtrates them at your
" feet. Your real enemy is the Emperor.
" He means to attack or to frighten you.
" If you are to be attacked, it behoves you
" to be beforehand with him; if it is in-
" tended only to force you by fear to a ca-
" pitulation unworthy of you, you muſt
" realize what you have a hundred times
" ſworn

" ſworn, *The Conſtitution or death.*—Death!
" no fear of that: compare your ſituation
" with that of the Emperor. Your Con-
" ſtitution is an eternal anathema to deſpotic
" thrones: all kings, therefore, muſt hate
" your Conſtitution; it puts them on their
" trial; it pronounces ſentence on them;
" it ſeems to ſay to each of them, *To-*
" *morrow thou ſhalt be no more, or thou*
" *ſhalt only be King by the voice of the*
" *People.* This truth has reſounded to the
" heart of *Leopold*, and he ſeeks to retard
" the fatal moment.—No; his object is not
" to re-eſtabliſh the French nobility; it is to
" ſupport his throne by a vain league
" againſt the torrent of the ſpirit of liberty.
" He would fain dry up the ſource of it,
" and the ſource is in France. Were he
" better acquainted with his own intereſts,
" did he know the force of the preſent
" Revolution, he would not dream of ſtop-
" ping it by ſuch means, he would get the
" ſtart of it by ſpreading it gently at home.
" The way to exclude its venom would be
" to inoculate it. You muſt therefore ſay
" to the Emperor, it is our Conſtitution
" that ſtrikes you with horror, it is that
" you wiſh to deſtroy; either give up this
ſcheme,

" ſcheme, or prepare for war. You will
" perhaps be told as an excuſe for this
" league that it has no deſign of violence,
" and that nothing more is wanted than a
" congreſs to correct ſome defects of your
" Conſtitution. But even if this congreſs
" were pacific, it would ſtill be an enormous
" outrage on the French Nation. Anathe-
" matize, then, thoſe ambitious ſpirits, who,
" to prolong our troubles and their influence,
" have conceived the project of it; anathe-
" matize the Powers that are mad
" enough to think of protracting them.
" By what right does the Emperor pre-
" tend to interfere in our diſputes?—If
" we are to obtain nothing but ſhuffling
" and equivocal anſwers; if thoſe anſwers
" are to engage us in a perpetual paper
" war if that war may be the cauſe of
" our loſing a portion of time, invaluable
" in an open and proper war, ſhould we
" not be out of our ſenſes to prefer a ne-
" gociation that would infallibly be de-
" ceitful and fatal? a free people has ſel-
" dom the advantage in negociations of the
" Cabinet. If they employ patriotic agents,
" thoſe agents are deceived; and if they
" employ miniſterial ones, the nation is
" deceived;

" deceived: and particularly when they are
" obliged to employ agents not chosen by
" themselves, but by an executive power,
" whom the nature of things renders a se-
" cret enemy to liberty. A free people can
" only manage their affairs well themselves,
" or by agents constantly in their sight: but
" in war it is the nation who negociate, and
" the nation do not suffer themselves to be de-
" ceived. In war every thing is public, whereas
" every thing is mystery, and often fraud,
" in the cabinet. What confidence can the
" French people have in these negociations,
" while the diplomatic commission is not
" popular—while it is a sheet of places of
" emolument, entirely confined to privileged
" persons, or the creatures of the old system?
" We shall have exclamations against these
" distrusts—but the interests in question are
" of the most precious kind, and almost all
" free nations have been ruined by confi-
" dence—but besides, where is the necessity
" for negociations at the present time?
" while this political comedy is playing, our
" military preparations will exhaust our re-
" sources, alarms will revive, our internal
" agitations continue, the combined forces
" will assemble, the season favourable for

" them

" them will advance, pretenſions will be
" avowed, haughtineſs will be diſplayed in
" their official notes, threats will ſucceed flat-
" tery, offence will be taken and invaſion
" follow, a diſaſtrous war will break out at
" our doors, the mal-contents will imme-
" diately join the hoſtile ſtandards, and a
" civil war be added to a foreign one. Such
" are the ſecret views of your enemies:
" they are kings, and you are people; they
" are deſpots, and you are free; now, there
" can be no ſincere treaty between tyranny
" and liberty. I would not, then, ſay to the
" Emperor with your committee, *Will you*
" *engage not to attack France or her in-*
" *dependence?* but I would ſay to him, *You*
" *have formed a league againſt France, we*
" *muſt go to blows*; and ſuch an immediate
" attack would be juſt, neceſſary, and dic-
" tated by circumſtances and by your oaths,
" unleſs the Emperor ſhould prevent it in a
" ſhort time by a ſatisfaction which ſhould
" remove all uneaſineſs.—How extravagant
" would it be in us to reſpect a treaty which
" the Emperor had ſo often broken, and
" which can be no longer reconciled with the
" principles of our new Conſtitution! that
" Conſtitution ſtrictly forbids the French
" making

" making any conqueſts; it forbids them all " offenſive war, unleſs compelled to it for " their own ſafety, they can therefore no " longer contract or maintain offenſive trea- " ties with any nation.—The French are to " be brothers to all men, to all nations. It " is their wiſh to be juſt and benevolent to " all: to connect themſelves excluſively " with this or that nation, and to engage to " defend them againſt every attack, is to en- " ter into a treaty eventually hoſtile to ſome " other nation, and to violate the ſacred prin- " ciple of univerſal fraternity."

Briſſot then taking a view of the intereſts and means of the Powers of Europe, uſed the ſame arguments which he had employed in his ſpeech of the 29th of December, to prove that France had nothing to fear from them, and that the Emperor was her real and her only enemy. He accordingly moved a plan for a decree in three articles, importing that the King ſhould be requeſted to notify to his Imperial Majeſty, that the French Nation conſidered the Treaty of the 1ſt of May 1756 as annulled; that they conſidered the Emperor's refuſal to interpoſe his good offices, and to employ his troops to put an end to the aſſembling of men in the Electo-

rates,

rates, the protection and ſuccours he had granted the Electors, and his acceſſion to the Coalition formed againſt the French Nation, as ſo many acts of hoſtility; and that in conſequence meaſures of a warlike nature were about to be taken, in order to be prepared to act offenſively againſt him on the 30th of February, if he did not before that time give ſuch ſatisfaction to France as ſhould remove all uneaſineſs.

M. *Dumas*, one of the moſt moderate and moſt prudent members of this Aſſembly, oppoſed with the moſt ſolid arguments both the opinion of the Committee, and that of *Briſſot*, and concluded with propoſing that the meſſage to be ſent to the King ſhould be entirely confined to manifeſting the harmony that reigned between the two Powers of the State, and the union of their efforts for the eſtabliſhment of the Conſtitution. This ſpeech was much leſs applauded than that of *Briſſot*, a motion was however made for its being printed, which after ſome oppoſition was ordered.

Vergniaux, whoſe oratorial talents, though every day exerciſed in the Aſſembly and at the Club, had as yet been diſtinguiſhed only for the moſt violent Revolutionary declamations

clamations, did no more on the preſent occaſion than amplify or repeat with greater vehemence what had been ſaid by *Briſſot*.

A ſpeaker of the moderate party (*Ramond*) endeavoured in a very patriotic ſpeech to lead to concluſions tending to modify the opinion of the Committee; but thoſe modifications excited as much murmuring as the ſpeech that preceded them had obtained applauſe. This debate continued for ſeveral ſittings and became every day more extravagant.

"The French, ſince the recovery of liberty," ſaid the Abbé *Fauchet*, "are the natural allies of all free nations. The "treaties entered into with deſpots are juſtly "diſſolved, and cannot be obſerved indeed "without a conſequence deſtructive to our "Revolution. We have no occaſion for "Ambaſſadors or Conſuls, who are but "eminent ſpies; there is nothing ſo deceitful as they; they manœuvre for the "Princes, and ſell the nation—Nothing is "ſooner violated than the treaties of Kings, "that commerce of impoſture as ancient as "their thrones. The preſent ſyſtem of diplomacy is only the art of ſharing tyranny. In a free country it ought to be "ſuperſeded

" ſuperſeded by the ſcience of the nation.
" Avaunt, ye dark fabricators of chains!
" Liberty purſues you, overtakes you, but
" your eyes are unable to ſupport her light!
" In our alliance with free nations we count
" the Engliſh, the Anglo-Americans, the
" Poles, the Dutch, and the Swiſs. When
" the other nations wiſh for our alliance,
" they will have only to recover their li-
" berty to obtain it; and in the mean time
" if they are peaceable we will trade with
" them as friendly ſavages. We can no
" longer be protected but by the majeſty of
" the people, and that majeſty does not re-
" ſide in a pack of office clerks. Let us paſs
" over the Executive Power abroad, it will
" give us enough to do at home; its nego-
" ciations are treaſons, its confidants are ty-
" rants. In the interior, at leaſt, the national
" force is always ready to reſtrain them.
" We will neither fear robbers, nor pirates,
" nor Princes—Let them attempt to moleſt
" us, the national maſs ſhall cruſh them—Silly
" tyrants! ſend hither all your ſlaves, and
" you ſhall ſee them defending themſelves
" like a maſs of ice on a field of fire! We
" will bring on no war by aggreſſion, the
" ſworn Conſtitution has forbidden it: but
" we

" we will go to war with thoſe Princes who " countenance the conſpirators on our fron- " tiers; we will go to war with *Leopold*, " who is plotting the deſtruction of our li- " berty. Let us repel the robbers—We " have nothing to aſk from any of theſe " deſpots, but to leave us alone—our nego- " ciations conſiſt in our cannon, our patriotic " bayonets, and millions of free men."

The frantic *Iſnard* told the Aſſembly, that he ſaw but three obſtacles to the ſucceſs of the meaſures propoſed by the Committee: one was diſunion among the citizens; a ſecond was treachery among the Miniſters; and a third was the King's ſuffering himſelf to be miſled by perfidious counſel. " As to " the diſunion," ſaid he, " I hope that at " the firſt ſound of the trumpet every " Frenchman would fly to arms. As to " the Miniſters, there are means of com- " pelling them to do their duty. It will be " neceſſary firſt to ſharpen the ſword of the " law well for them by a new code of " reſponſibility, then to aſſemble them all " within theſe walls, and declare to them " ſolemnly, in the name of the people, " that we will heap glory on thoſe who " ſhall conduct themſelves well, and that

" we will order the head of the firſt who
" ſhall attempt to betray us to be ſtruck off.
" With reſpect to the King, his heart is
" good, and I truſt he will do what he
" ought. Certainly it is his intereſt far
" above all others; and he may well ima-
" gine that the nation, who have already
" overlooked two faults, will not over-
" look the third. In ſhort, let every one
" underſtand, that no citizen, prieſt, gene-
" ral, miniſter, king, or other perſon what-
" ever, ſhall deceive us with impunity.
" The die is caſt: equality we will have,
" even if we can find it only in the grave;
" but in that caſe, we will firſt drive every
" traitor into it before us. It is neceſſary
" that liberty and equality ſhould triumph;
" and they will triumph, in ſpite of ariſto-
" cracy, in ſpite of prieſtcraft, and in ſpite
" of deſpotiſm; becauſe ſuch is the reſolu-
" tion of the French nation, and becauſe
" their will acknowledges no will ſuperior
" to their own but that of God."

Theſe were the ſpeeches which, next to *Briſſot*'s, obtained the greateſt applauſe in this debate. The various reports, and incidental matters by which it was interrupted, protracted it long enough to cool the warlike

ardour

ardour that had been kindled by theſe orators. Some began to be ſenſible, that inſtead of being in ſo great a hurry to declare war, or render it inevitable, it would be prudent to enquire beforehand, 1ſt, Whether the country was in a ſtate to ſupport it, and whether the ſoldiers, who already grumbled very much, in ſpite of their patriotiſm, at receiving part of their pay in aſſignats, would ſubmit to be no better paid in Germany, where aſſignats were of no value? 2dly, Whether it was not requiſite, before every thing elſe, to determine upon the means of completing the army, which was ſtill 51,000 men deficient. The War Miniſter had propoſed to effect this, by recruiting from the battalions of National Guards; but the meaſure had been highly blamed, and finally rejected by the Aſſembly.

"What need is there for recruiting," ſaid one of their ſpeakers, "when there are "twenty-five millions of men armed? for "the men and children, too, have patriotic "hearts. The French army at preſent is "the whole of France. Some would make "a diſtinction between troops of the line "and National Guards, which is a ſnare "laid for you, &c." M. *de Narbonne* did

not the leſs for this inſiſt upon the impoſſibility of carrying on a war, without troops engaged for a determined time, and ſubject to all the ſeverity of military diſcipline. He even declared, that if, contrary to his expectation, the Aſſembly ſhould not order for the army the 51,000 men deficient, his conſcience would compel him to decline being reſponſible for a war, in which it did not ſeem to him that ſucceſs was poſſible. "But in that "caſe," ſaid he, "while I refuſed to ex-"poſe myſelf to ſhame as a Miniſter, I "would go to meet death as a ſoldier of the "conſtitution; and as ſuch, indeed, I "ſhould be excuſed for not calculating the "number and ſtrength of our enemies." Sentiments ſo pure and patriotic, removing every idea of *perfidy*, *ſnares*, &c. the Aſſembly at laſt determined to permit, not the recruiting from the National Guards, but the completing of the army by voluntary engagements among them, and among the citizens of every claſs. As the ſucceſs of this meaſure was uncertain, and as its effect might be very ſlow, the Aſſembly proceeded alſo ſlowly in the diſcuſſion of Prince *Kaunitz* official note, which was concluded on the

the 25th of January, with the following decree:

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering "that the Emperor, by his circular letter "of the 25th of November 1791, by his "concluſion of a new treaty with the King "of Pruſſia on the 25th of July 1791, by "his reply to the King of the French on "his notification of the Conſtitutional Act, "and by the official note of his High "Chancellor, dated Dec. 21, 1791, has "broken the treaty of 1756, and has en-"deavoured to promote among divers Pow-"ers a combination againſt the ſovereignty "and ſafety of the nation; conſidering that "the nation, after manifeſting their reſolu-"tion not to intermeddle in the government "of any foreign Power, have a right to "expect for themſelves a ſimilar line of "conduct, the juſt reciprocity of which "they will never ſuffer to be infringed; "applauding the firmneſs with which the "King of the French replied to the official "note of the Emperor, and after hearing "the Report of the Diplomatic Committee, "decree as follows:

"Art. 1. That the King ſhall be requeſted "by a deputation to declare to the Em-

" peror, that he cannot in future maintain
" political relations with any Power but
" in the name of the French nation, and
" by virtue of the powers delegated to him
" by the Conſtitution.

" Art. 2. That the King ſhall be re-
" queſted to demand of the Emperor, whe-
" ther he intends to live in peace and good
" underſtanding with the French nation,
" and whether he renounces all treaties and
" conventions directed againſt the ſove-
" reignty, independence, and ſafety of the
" nation.

" Art. 3. The King ſhall be requeſted to
" declare to the Emperor, that on failure by
" him of giving the nation, before the 1ſt
" of March next, full and entire ſatisfac-
" tion on the points above mentioned, his
" ſilence, or any evaſive, dilatory anſwer,
" will be conſidered as a declaration of
" war.

" Art. 4. The King ſhall be requeſted to
" continue taking the prompteſt meaſures
" for putting the French troops in a ſtate
" for taking the field, on the firſt order that
" ſhall be given for it."

The Marine Committee, foreſeeing that I ſhould not leave unanſwered the laſt report they

they had made againſt me, the diſcuſſion of which had been poſtponed till the 20th of January, were unwilling that I ſhould have the advantage of refuting it by the very documents which were annexed to it, and which had been ordered to be printed. I ſent ſeveral times in vain to the Committee for thoſe documents; the conſtant anſwer returned was, that they were in the printer's hands. This did not hinder me from going on the 19th of January, accompanied by all the Miniſters, and preſenting to the Aſſembly the heads of my defence. It is not neceſſary that I ſhould here ſtate them, and I ſhall content myſelf with reporting what I replied to the charge made againſt me, of being an enemy to the Conſtitution. I ſaid, "No one is more convinced than I am, that "it is only the complete execution of the "Conſtitution that can be of advantage to "France; and it is not thoſe who appear "the moſt enraptured with it, that adhere "to it the moſt ſcrupulouſly. It is actions "alone that prove fidelity to the Conſtitu-"tion, and I am not at all apprehenſive "that a ſingle act of my miniſtry can be "pointed out which is contrary to it."

Such was really my opinion at that period, and ſuch was the conſtant principle of my conduct during my adminiſtration. I ſtill think, that if this opinion had been more general, the Revolution might finally, and without a convulſion, have been reduced to the reform, as neceſſary as deſirable, of all the abuſes which had brought it on.

My ſpeech was applauded over and over again by a great majority of the Aſſembly, ordered to be printed, and ſent to the Committee, whoſe report was publiſhed the next morning, as I expected. Had I been leſs acquainted with the impudence and knavery of the reporter, I ſhould have been much aſtoniſhed to find, in the number of written atteſtations annexed to this report, a document which the reporter himſelf had taken the trouble to compoſe, and which he had unwittingly entitled, *a liſt of the officers to whom, without good reaſon, the Miniſter had granted leaves of abſence*. He, no doubt, hoped that this pretended atteſtation would have produced its effect before I could have had time to obſerve and refute it; and that if the decree for impeachment was once paſſed, all my remonſtrances would be uſe-

leſs,

leſs. I completely prevented the effect of this fraud, by ſending that very day to the Preſident of the Aſſembly a copy of this liſt, with marginal remarks on all the articles. Although I had not had time to make thoſe remarks ſo extenſive as they might have been, they were ſufficient to demonſtrate that the ſixteen leaves of abſence, of which I was arraigned, had all been granted for the moſt powerful and lawful reaſons. My letter was read to the Aſſembly, but the reading of the remarks was put off till the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs was reſumed. It had been ordered for the day following, and I wrote to the Preſident, requeſting him to prevail upon the Aſſembly to bring it to a concluſion in that Sitting, that I might be able to give to the important duties of my office the time which I was every day obliged to take from them for my own defence. The Sitting was too far advanced when my letter was read, to grant my requeſt; but the Aſſembly acknowledged the juſtice of it, and appointed the diſcuſſion of the report of the Marine Committee for the 23d of January, immediately after the reading of the minutes. That Sitting, however, was entirely taken up with the debate on

on the completing of the army, and a petition from the citizens, male and female, of the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, where there had been ſerious riots for ſome days before, on account of the riſe of the price of ſugar, which the petitioners attributed to the manœuvres of engroſſers. On this occaſion, the Aſſembly manifeſted the moſt indecent joy, on hearing *a former magiſtrate, who had been a Member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly* *, accuſed of the engroſſing. The ſpeaker was induced, by clappings and ſhouts of *bis* to repeat that ſentence to the great ſatisfaction of his hearers, proud of finding themſelves more honeſt people, and conſequently more *auguſt* than their predeceſſors.

As to my buſineſs, I ſaw plainly that all my efforts to bring it to a deciſion would not prevent its being retarded, as long as it ſhould pleaſe the Marine Committee, who would not fail to chooſe a moment the leaſt favourable for me, I therefore made up my mind to wait the event, keeping at the ſame

* M. *d'André*, formerly a Counſellor of the Parliament of Provence, but at this time become a grocer in Paris.

time

time a very ſtrict watch over the manœuvres of my enemies, both in the Aſſembly and at the Jacobin Club, whither I daily ſent a confidential perſon to bring me word of what was paſſing.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Dreadful State of France—Affecting Inſtance of the King's Unhappineſs—The Law of Paſſports revived—Rumour of his Majeſty's intending to eſcape from Paris—His Conduct on the Occaſion—Account of an Impoſture relative to it—Proofs of the old Gardes-du-Corps receiving no Pay at Coblentz—The King's Anſwer to the Aſſembly relative to the laſt official Note from the Cabinet of Vienna—Officers of the Corps to be added to the Service of the Capital preſented to the Aſſembly—Report reſpecting Military Rewards

Rewards — Reſolutions of one of the Sections of Paris giving up the Uſe of Sugar and Coffee—The Diſcuſſion of the Report againſt M. Bertrand unexpectedly brought on—Uproar in the Aſſembly on ſome Expreſſions uſed in the Debate—M. Quatre-Mere's Speech in Defence of M. Bertrand—The Iſſue of this Buſineſs —Dominion of the Galleries over this Aſſembly—Tumult in the Aſſembly reſpecting a Report on Petitions—Diſorder and Anarchy throughout the Kingdom.

WHAT view more painful, more afflicting, can hiſtory trace, than that offered by France at this period! All the authorities in confuſion, the laws without force—all the powers reſting with the clubs or popular meetings; the moſt manifeſt violations of the Conſtitution always accompanied with oaths to die for it; an eagerneſs to propagate liberty throughout Europe, while there exiſted none from one end of the kingdom to the other, but for robbers, attended only with inſurrections, anarchy, and want; and amidſt this general diſorganization, the National Aſſembly excited to war by their impetuous

petuous arrogance; adopting, in their delirium, meaſures, the diſcuſſion of which would have required the coolneſs and maturity of the beſt heads; provoking all the ſovereigns of Europe by their bravadoes, by the moſt inſulting harangues, and thus driving them to the alternative of being deſpiſed by their own ſubjects, or of taking a ſignal vengeance.

With what grief did *Louis* XVI. look on all the calamities that had been brought upon France by the innumerable ſacrifices which he had been induced to make, by the fatal hope of rendering it more happy! His critical ſituation made it neceſſary for him to conceal his chagrin; but this was not always in his power in the Council, where he was ſometimes obliged to give reaſons for his opinions, when he did not adopt that of the Miniſters. I will adduce an inſtance, too intereſting to be paſſed over in ſilence. M. *Cahier de Gerville* reading to the Council the form of a proclamation relative to the robberies and aſſaſſinations committed at this period in ſeveral departments, the King ſtopped him at the following words:—"theſe "diſorders diſturb in a moſt painful manner "the happineſs we enjoy"—and ſaid mildly

to

to him, that he muſt alter that expreſſion. M. *de Gerville* having read it over again without perceiving where it was wrong, replied with an air of ſurpriſe, that he did not ſee what was to be changed. "Do "not let me talk of my happineſs, Sir," ſaid his Majeſty with great emotion, "I "cannot ſpeak ſo very falſely. How can "you imagine that I can be happy, M. *de* "*Gerville*, when no one is ſo in France? "No, Sir, the French are not happy, I ſee "it but too plainly; they may be ſo one "day, I hope—I ardently deſire it; then I "ſhall be happy too, and be able to ſpeak "of my happineſs." Theſe words, uttered with extreme feeling, made a moſt affecting impreſſion upon us. Our eyes full of tears, as were his Majeſty's, expreſſed to him how much we were affected by his unhappineſs.

After ſome moments of ſilence, the reading of the proclamation was finiſhed. The King approved it, and, in order that the ſcene which had juſt paſſed, and which could not remain ſecret, might not create any doubt of his Majeſty's attachment to the Conſtitution, he imputed, without the leaſt heſitation, the diſorders and troubles that

that agitated France, entirely to its not being executed. The ſpeakers of the Democratic party, on the contrary, aſſerted to the Aſſembly, *that thoſe troubles were the effect of the manœuvres of the late nobility, who, they ſaid, were returning in great numbers into the kingdom, accompanied with a crowd of agents of inſurrection.* On this bare-faced aſſertion, deſtitute of every kind of proof, the Aſſembly, *on the old pretence of public ſafety and the ſtate of things*, revived the law of paſſports, even in the interior of the kingdom, and added regulations infinitely more vexatious than thoſe which had induced the Firſt Aſſembly formally to repeal that law as incompatible with perſonal liberty, which had been rendered ſacred by the Conſtitution. At the ſame time, the moderate Revolutioniſts, and ſcrupulous Conſtitutionaliſts, whom this meaſure offended, were told in confidence, *that its principal object was to render abortive the new projects of eſcaping which it was affirmed the King was meditating.* In fact, ſuch were the rumours ſtudiouſly ſpread at that time. They were propagated and confirmed by a multitude of placards, pamphlets, and daily papers, which gave

gave a very circumſtantial account of the pretended preparations which were making at the Palace for carrying off the King, or for his departure. This impoſture became ſo ſerious, that it induced his Majeſty to ſend for the municipal officers to enter into an explanation with them. The Mayor and the *Procureur Syndic* went to the Palace on the 25th of January at nine o'clock at night. The King, after queſtioning them on the ſtate of the capital, on the commotions excited in it, and on the ſteps they had taken relative to ſubſiſtence, told them how much he was ſurpriſed and afflicted that the Pariſians could give any credit to the abſurd projects that had been attributed to him; "Pray inform them that they are "deceived," added his Majeſty, "and that "I have authorized you to come every day, "and at any hour, and go over the Palace, "and into every place where preparations "could be made for my departure."

The people were not the only dupes of this impoſture, it was believed by ſeveral Royaliſts. The Chevalier *de la Font*, an old officer who had retired from the army, and was then keeping a bank for play at the

Palais-Royal, came and conſulted me at that time on a propoſal that had been made to him to enter into a coalition of gentlemen to eſcort the King, who, he was told, would ſoon leave the kingdom. Every gentleman joining the party was to provide himſelf with arms, horſes, and a ſum of 200 louis, 100 of which was to be lodged in the cheſt of the coalition. The perſon who made this propoſal to the Chevalier *de la Font*, had introduced himſelf under the title of Field-Mareſchal, and had given him only twenty-four hours to conſider of it. As I was perfectly convinced that this pretended coalition was entirely unknown to the King, I ſuſpected it to be ſome knaviſh trick, which it was important to detect; I therefore adviſed the Chevalier *de la Font* to ſeem inclined to enter into this coalition, provided he were previouſly made acquainted with its organization, its places, its means, and the perſons of which it was compoſed. I expreſsly enjoined him to forget nothing of what he ſhould be told in anſwer, and particularly to make himſelf ſure of the name and reſidence of this Field-Mareſchal; and he promiſed me to loſe no time in coming to give me an account of his next converſation

converſation with him. He returned accordingly the next day, and informed me very circumſtantially of what had paſſed. I wrote an exact memorandum of it, which I read that very evening in the Council. The King was very angry, and ordered the Miniſter of the Interior to give immediate information of it to the Directory of the Department, and to recommend it to them to make every poſſible inquiry to diſcover this pretended Field-Mareſchal, who had taken the appellation of the Marquis *de la Salle*, to have him narrowly watched, and to ſecure his perſon, if there were grounds for it. The inquiries ordered by the King were carefully made. The place of this man's abode was found out, but he hid himſelf for ſeveral days, ſo that it was impoſſible to catch him. It appeared farther, from the information obtained at the police office, that this Marquis *de la Salle* was not only a worthleſs fellow, but one of very weak intellects. Being informed, no doubt, that ſearch was making for him, he diſappeared, and the Chevalier *de la Font* never heard any more of him.

M. *de la Porte*, the Comptroller of the Civil Liſt, denied in the public papers at

this period the aſſertion generally ſpread, that the former *Gardes-du-Corps* who had emigrated, continued to receive their pay at Coblentz. He formally declared that, on the contrary, from the month of July preceding, there had been no kind of payment made on the part of the King to the perſons who formally compoſed his military houſehold, not even thoſe reſiding in the kingdom, as the pay which his Majeſty had aſſigned them on their retiring was payable but every ſix months; and as, beſides, *the orders of the King, ſent to the Treaſurer of the Civil Liſt, and for ſeveral months paſt fixed up in his offices, forbade all payments of that kind, unleſs the forms preſcribed by the decrees for proving a conſtant reſidence of ſix months were complied with**.

It was, no doubt, of great conſequence that theſe atrocious calumnies ſhould be ſubſtantially refuted. The fermentation which

* See M. *de la Porte*'s letter, Appendix, No. XI. Although the impoſture of the pretended payment of the the *Gardes-du-Corps* at Coblentz was thus clearly demonſtrated; it was, nevertheleſs, revived, to form one of the principal articles in the trial of *Louis* XVI.

they

they excited would have rendered that much more formidable which was about to be produced at the Jacobin Club by the anſwer which the King had reſolved on giving to the meſſage that had been ſent to him relative to the laſt official note from the Cabinet of Vienna. This anſwer, dictated by wiſdom, humanity, and real love of the people, was delivered to the Preſident in the Sitting of the 28th January by the Keeper of the Seals, whom all the Miniſters accompanied. It was expreſſed in the following terms:

"Paris, January 28th, 1792.

"Gentlemen, I have examined your re-
"queſt in the form of a decree, preſented
"to me on the 25th of this month. You
"know that, by the Conſtitution, it be-
"longs to me alone to maintain political rela-
"tions abroad, and to conduct negociations;
"and that the Legiſlative Body cannot de-
"liberate on war till the formal and ne-
"ceſſary propoſal of it be made by me.
"No doubt you may requeſt me to take
"into conſideration whatever concerns the
"ſafety and the dignity of the nation; but
"the form which you have adopted is liable
"to ſerious objections. I will not enter
"upon them at preſent. The ſtate of

" things requires that I should think still
" more of preserving the harmony of our
" sentiments, than of constitutionally dis-
" cussing my rights. I have then to inform
" you, that I demanded of the Emperor,
" more than a fortnight ago, a positive ex-
" planation on the principal articles of your
" request. I paid him those attentions
" which the different Powers respectively
" owe to one another. If we are to have
" war, let us not have to reproach our-
" selves with having provoked it. It is
" only this consciousness that can assist us
" to support the inevitable evils it brings
" with it.

" I feel it glorious to speak in the
" name of the nation that displays such great
" courage, and I know how to make the
" greatest advantage of this incalculable
" means of strength; but what sincerer
" proof can I give of my attachment to the
" Constitution, than by being as cautious
" in the negociations which tend to peace,
" as expeditious in the preparations that
" shall enable us, if it must be so, to take
" the field before six weeks are at an end?
" The most anxious distrust can only find
" that in this conduct I reconcile all my
" duties.

" duties. Let the Aſſembly recollect that " humanity forbids the mixture of enthu- " ſiaſm in a deliberation upon war. A " determination on that point ſhould be an " act of the moſt mature conſideration, for " it is pronouncing in the name of the " country, that her intereſt requires the " ſacrifice of a great number of her chil- " dren. I watch, however, over the ho- " nour and ſafety of the nation, and I will " do every thing in my power to haſten " the moment of informing the Aſſembly " whether they may depend on peace, or " I be obliged to propoſe war to them.

" LOUIS."

The Aſſembly, who little expected ſuch an anſwer, did not dare attempt to diſcuſs it before they had reflected upon it, and paſſed quickly to the order of the day, to ſtop the murmurs which began to riſe. M. *de Narbonne* then preſented to them, on the part of the King, the officers of corps from the troops of the line, Gendarmerie, and National Guard, newly organized, to be attached to the ſervice of the capital. " All theſe corps," ſaid he, " are com- " poſed of patriots, who date their ſervice " from the firſt days of liberty. They

" come to ſwear to defend it at a moment
" when it is threatened. Their perſevering
" courage calls for a recollection of the
" paſt only to ſerve them as a preſage of
" the future." The officers were harangued by the Preſident, admitted to the honours of the Sitting, and loudly applauded by the Aſſembly and the galleries when they took the oath *To live free or die*.

The Aſſembly, willing to honour their patriotiſm, ſtill more particularly, eagerly adopted a motion that was made for hearing immediately, in their preſence, the report of the committee on military rewards. The Reporter accordingly made his ſpeech, which he ornamented with the moſt redundant amplification of epithets, ſonorous words, poetic deſcriptions, &c. " Equa-
" lity," ſaid he, " being the baſis of the
" Conſtitution, it muſt not be hurt by the
" national rewards; they muſt be applied to
" actions rather than to men." He deſired the Aſſembly to ſeek the ſolution of this problem, *in thoſe remote times, when men, nearer to nature followed with rapture a conquering warrior, and rewarded him with ſimplicity*. " Our heroes," ſaid he, " muſt
" in future receive from the hands of the
" country

"country only innocent honours." The Grecians, and particularly the Romans, furniſhed him with great examples. From them he borrowed *national feaſts, triumphal pomps, robes, gowns, ſwords of gold, crowns of laurel or oak-leaves, medals, rings*, &c. But he propoſed that they who ſhould obtain thoſe decorations, ſhould not be allowed to wear them except on national feſtivals, and on the great occaſions of life. He propoſed alſo that the ſight of the entry of a General in a triumphal car, ornamented with the trophies of victory, and accompanied by the warriors who had contributed to his ſucceſs, ſhould not be ſullied, as in the times of the Romans, with the appearance of captive Kings and vanquiſhed generals, dragged with barbarity in the train of the conquerors. *Philoſophy and fraternity were repugnant to thoſe odious enjoyments of pride.* He diſapproved too of generals being allowed the right of taking the names of the provinces they had conquered. *That cuſtom was injurious to equality, without which there was no real liberty.* But he did not ſee the ſame inconvenience in having the public ſquares *ornamented with the ſtatues of great men inſtead of kings.* It

was

was particularly at the national feſtivals that the victorious warrior was to find the moſt flattering recompence. His place was to be among the repreſentatives of the nation; the people were to riſe on his coming, fathers were to ſhow him to their children, make them obſerve his civic crown, and rehearſe to them his exploits. Theſe public feſtivals, theſe rewards decreed to the great men, were to produce inconceivable effects. "They can alone," ſaid the Reporter, "render the citizens warriors, but not "ſavage — energetic, but not wild, and "give them frankneſs and urbanity, ſo "different from that falſe politeneſs, which "is the offspring of the vices and the "pride of courts." In a word, we were to find in regenerated France, Greece and Rome in their proſperous days, and we were all to be Romans, philoſophers, and philanthropiſts.

This report, and the plan for a decree, converting all theſe grand ideas into legiſlative rules, were warmly applauded, and the Aſſembly ordered them to be printed, without well underſtanding, however, how theſe crowns, medals, and ſwords of gold were more applicable to actions than to perſons,

perſons, or how theſe honorary diſtinctions could be reconciled with the principles of equality.

The next day, on the reading of the minutes, two deputies took the liberty of making ſome inſolent comments upon the King's anſwer. The Aſſembly put an end to this ſcandalous conduct by paſſing to the order of the day, and the remainder of this Sitting was employed in hearing ridiculous petitions and extravagant reſolutions: one among others by which one of the ſections of Paris *(La Croix Rouge), juſtly afflicted at the incalculable evils which might be the conſequence of the popular fermentation that had juſt broken out, on account of the riſing of the price of the colonial commodities, had unanimouſly declared that they formally gave up, for the preſent, the uſe of ſugar and coffee, and invited the other ſections and all the citizens of the Capital to follow this example.* The Aſſembly, not ſatisfied with applauding this reſolution, ordered it to be inſerted in the minutes, and ſent to the eighty-three departments. The revolutionary pamphlets and journals highly extolled *this great act of civiſm*: "The "Grecians and Romans," ſaid they "did "very

" very well without ſugar and coffee; and " the French, now free, will do without them " too." The fanatic revolutioniſts abſolutely refrained from the uſe of them, and the moderate ones never uſed them but in ſecret, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of ariſtocracy.

At this time the great influence which the Journals had on the public opinion, tempted the Miniſters to endeavour to gain over the principal Journaliſts of Paris, and M. *de Narbonne* undertook to treat with *Briſſot* and *Condorcet*, but with no other effect than that of being extolled himſelf at the expence of the other Miniſters; nay, *Briſſot*, puſhed his audacity ſo far as to publiſh the moſt atrocious calumnies againſt his Majeſty, denounced the paper in which they appeared to the Council, who thought it beſt to treat it with contempt, a conduct in my opinion to be adopted only when contempt is ſupported by undoubted power of puniſhing*.

As for me, I was obliged to be conſtantly

* See my Private Memoirs, where I have mentioned this circumſtance more at length, and inſerted the letter I wrote to the King on the occaſion, with his Majeſty's anſwer. Vol. II. p. 23, to the end of p. 30.

on

on my guard, for my enemies were as cunning as they were wicked, and in ſpite of all my vigilance, their new attempts to ruin me had very nearly been attended with complete ſucceſs. As they were convinced that no decree for my being impeached, or declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, would ever paſs in a Morning Sitting, for the Sittings before dinner were regularly enough attended by all the honeſt and moderate Deputies, they had the effrontery to open, unexpectedly, in an Evening Sitting, (*February the 1ſt,*) the diſcuſſion of the report which the Marine Committee had made againſt me, although the Aſſembly had expreſſly adjourned it to a Morning Sitting. All the Deputies who had ſhewn themſelves to be againſt me were entruſted with this plot, and not one of them was abſent from this Sitting; the galleries too were crowded with a formidable number of truſty vociferators.

The Reporter (*Cavelier*) who was the firſt to deliver his opinion, recapitulated in a few words, and impudently ſtated as proved, all the charges, the falſity of which was demonſtrated by the documents annexed to the report, and moved in the name of the Committee,

mittee, that the Assembly should declare to the King that I had lost the confidence of the Nation. The two speakers who spoke next, enflamed with that kind of patriotic rage which was often caught at the tavern, and brought to an Evening Sitting, thought the opinion of the Committee much too moderate, and moved for a decree of impeachment, after having poured forth against me for nearly an hour the grossest abuse, which the galleries and some of the Assembly applauded at every word. One of them went so far as to say, *that if my conduct remained unpunished, the Assembly would lose the confidence of the Nation, the people would sink into dejection, or perhaps, what might have consequences much more fatal, their resentment might lead them to insurrection.* The galleries showed by their clamours, and the additional rapidity of their clapping, that they were ready to realize this conjecture. The considerate part of the Assembly were shocked at it, and loudly demanded that the Speaker should be called to order. The President, insulted and threatened on all sides with doubled fists, made vain efforts to be heard, and it was not till full half an hour had passed in agitation, tumult, and a most frightful

frightful uproar, that he found an opportunity to call the Speaker to order for being able to ſuppoſe, *that the regenerated French people were capable of inſurrection.*

At length a worthy man (*Quatre-mere*) whom I had never known but by reputation, ſpoke in my defence, or rather as he ſaid himſelf, for the intereſt and the honor of the Legiſlative Body. He began with expreſſing his aſtoniſhment that the body of charges, which had been the grounds of the Marine Committee's firſt plan for a decree, having been ſucceſſively reduced to two facts, which had been juſtified by proofs that nobody had yet refuted, the Committee had not produced its concluſions againſt me. He reproved the Aſſembly in a very forcible manner for the extreme indecency of their debates on this buſineſs. "Who would believe," ſaid he, "that a motion for a decree of im-"peachment ſhould, to the great ſcandal "of ſome minds, have been attended with "applauſes! Will poſterity conceive that "reſolutions involving the honour, life, and "fortune of citizens, that the moſt awful "judicial act, could have been devoted to "this indecent proſtitution of clapping, "hooting, hiſſing, and threatening? I am "not

" not ſufficiently acquainted with the Ma-
" rine vocabulary to decide between the
" Committee and the Miniſter, as to the
" reſtriction or extent to be given to the
" expreſſions he uſed in the letter for
" which they cenſure him; but what I am
" as well acquainted with as the Commit-
" tee, is the whole extent of the manœuvres
" of which ſome perſons would fain have
" the Legiſlative Body conſent to become the
" inſtrument. It is againſt thoſe intrigues,
" againſt thoſe machinations, which it gives
" me pleaſure to believe are not counte-
" nanced by the Aſſembly, that they muſt be
" upon their guard."—" Wretched will it
" be for us, and wretched for the common-
" weal," cried another of my defenders
" (*Legrevole*) could the people have confi-
" dence only in crimes; could we obtain
" their eſteem only by condemning the in-
" nocent. If you decree an impeachment
" of the Miniſter who is not guilty, he
" will be cleared, and the ſhame will redound
" upon yourſelves."

They were both of opinion that the Aſſembly ſhould paſs to the order of the day on the Report of the Committee. The motion for the decree of impeachment was firſt put

put to the vote, and almoſt unanimouſly rejected. The majority for the order of the day, to get rid of the motion for declaring that I had forfeited the confidence of the nation, was not ſo great, but evidently two-thirds of the votes. *Cavelier* and his party pretended however that it was doubtful, and inſiſted on the queſtion being put again. The ſecond trial having the ſame effect notwithſtanding all the manœuvres of the factious to make the majority doubtful, they renewed their clamours, abuſe, and threats to obtain a call of the votes individually; and the Aſſembly ſeeing no other means of putting an end to the tumult and of breaking up the Sitting, were forced to conſent to it. It being then paſt twelve o'clock, a great many of the Deputies who had voted for me went away not doubting that a ſufficient number would remain to preſerve the majority, and in fact it continued in my favour, but there were only 208 votes againſt 193. Here any other buſineſs would have ended, but it was not the caſe with mine. The next day, after the reading of the minutes, there being in the Aſſembly ſcarcely the number of members neceſſary for buſineſs, and the factious being in great force, one of them obſerved

that in the proceedings of the evening before only the motions for impeachment, and for the opinion of the Committee had been rejected: but that the Aſſembly not having formally pronounced that I was irreproachable, had indiſputably a right to ſend a Memorial to the King to make known to him the ſubjects of complaint which they had againſt me. This motion, ſupported by the opinion of ſeveral members, and by great clapping, was decreed in an inſtant, and M. *Heraut de Sechelles* had the meanneſs to undertake the drawing up of this Memorial.

The galleries, compoſed in great part of the emiſſaries of the Jacobin or Cordelier Clubs, became daily more audacious. A ſimple influence over ſome reſolutions no longer ſufficed for their High Mightineſſes; they exerciſed brutally the moſt deſpotic empire over the Aſſembly, and very few decrees of conſequence were paſſed which had not been dictated or modified by their vociferations. When the Preſident ventured to call them to order in the name of the Conſtitution, in the name of the Country, they anſwered him with loud burſts of laughter. The members who dared deſpiſe their inſolent remonſtrances, were hiſſed, laughed at, and

and inſulted by cries of "Down with the Ci-
"vil Liſt! down with the Miniſterialiſts!"
&c. Thus four hundred individuals, al-
moſt without property, without the means
of exiſtence, without name or known abode,
marked for two years before as the hired
auxiliaries of the factious, exerciſed really
and by turns the Legiſlative Power and the
Veto, and the fate of all France entirely de-
pended upon the whim and fury of this
infamous rabble.

They who want to convince themſelves of
the exactneſs of this painting, have only to
conſult the Journals of thoſe times * for the
particulars of the ſcandalous and ſhocking
ſcenes which occupied the whole Evening-
Sitting of the 4th of February. The point
was, to come to a determination on the re-
port of one of the two ſections of the Com-
mittee of Legiſlation, relative, 1ſt, to the
petition preſented to the King on the 5th of
December preceding, by the Directory of
the Department of Paris, for the purpoſe of
prevailing on his Majeſty to refuſe his ſanc-
tion to the decree paſſed againſt the non-

* See the Minutes of the Aſſembly, the Logographe, the Mercury, the Moniteur, &c.

juring prieſts; 2dly, to the numerous petitions ſent to the Aſſembly, praying for a ſevere puniſhment on the Members of the Directory of the Department of Paris. The reporter, diſcuſſing the principles of the right of petitioning, according to the regulations of the Conſtitutional Act, demonſtrated by unanſwerable arguments, that thoſe which had denounced the petition of the Members of the Department of Paris, and which had been ſo highly applauded, and ſo honourably mentioned in the minutes, muſt be conſidered as an object of ſcandal in the temple of the country. No more was wanting to create a tumult and terrible murmurs, the violence of which continued increaſing till the end of the Sitting. The reporter, every inſtant interrupted by the exclamations of the galleries, and by the groſſeſt inſults, concluded with propoſing that the petition of the Members of the Department ſhould be declared null and illegal; that no petition ſhould be received in future till it had been ſubmitted to the examination of a Committee, in order that all thoſe which ſhould be offered under the name of any collective bodies, ſhould be rejected in the firſt inſtance; and laſtly, that all

all perſons ſigning petitions ſhould be forbidden to term themſelves public functionaries, or interpreters of a Commune, or of any ſection whatever, under pain of being proſecuted by the proper courts.

Although the laſt clauſes were more rigorous than the Conſtitutional Act, and the one concerning the Members of the Department of Paris was not only ſevere, but unjuſt, as they had ſtrictly conformed to the letter of the Conſtitution, the galleries, enraged at a decree ſo moderate, opened their hiſſings, mixed with the cries of—*Down with the reporter—to the Abbaye, to the Abbaye.* The *Coté-gauche*, powerfully ſupported by theſe clamours, demanded imperiouſly that the reporter, and the ſection of the Committee, of which he was the organ, ſhould be cenſured and that the buſineſs ſhould be referred to the other ſection of the ſame Committee. The *Coté-droit* moved the previous queſtion on this demand, and it was put to the vote. The Preſident maintained that it was rejected:—*That is not true*, was thundered in his ears —*Yes, yes; no, no—the call of votes—to the Abbaye*, was heard on all ſides. At length, after two full hours of confuſion,

uproar, abuſe, threats, and clamours, always governed by thoſe of the galleries, the previous queſtion on the cenſure of the reporter was adopted; but the buſineſs was referred to the other ſection of the Committee of Legiſlation, to make a new report of it.

Diſorder and anarchy not only reigned in the Aſſembly, but alſo prevailed throughout the kingdom, and daily grew worſe. The people, knowing no other authority than their own, no other law than their will, cited in their outrages the chapter of the Rights of Man, and thought they adhered very cloſely to the exerciſe of the *ſovereignty* with which they had been inveſted. The payment of the taxes was not only put off, but completely reſiſted by the moſt zealous *patriots*. The convoys of grain and of ſpecie were ſtopped by force, and almoſt always pillaged. The ſecurity of perſons and property, and the freedom of worſhip, being violated with impunity, increaſed daily the emigration of the citizens of all claſſes, who fled through fear, as it was in vain for them to implore the protection of the laws and conſtituted authorities. Thoſe authorities were without power, and they who

who were appointed to exerciſe them eſcaped the moſt violent outrages, and even aſſaſſination, only by remaining inactive. Nor did the bodies entruſted with the adminiſtration of the laws agree themſelves in their principles or conduct. Some arbitrarily ſhut up the churches, executing the decree paſſed againſt the prieſts, although the King had refuſed to ſanction it, and their patriotiſm was extolled: others, adhering to the Conſtitution, were ſuſpected of ariſtocracy, for conſidering only the ſanctioned decrees as laws, and at the riſk of their lives feebly ſupported the religious ſyſtem and toleration of worſhip. The unceaſing inſubordination of the ſoldiers and ſailors forced all the ancient officers to reſign their commiſſions. Aſſignats circulated at a loſs of 40 per cent; and in this ſtate of weakneſs, diſcredit, and general diſorder, the Aſſembly were inſolently defying all the powers of Europe, and endeavouring to compel the King to declare war.

CHAPTER

Object of the Plan purſued by the Aſſembly —Decline of M. de Narbonne's Popularity—Obſervations reſpecting M. Cahier de Gerville—The Aſſembly determine that their Committees are legally impowered to correſpond with the Bodies of Adminiſtration of all the Departments—Diſpute relative to the Ceremony of the King's receiving the Commiſſioners for the Sanction—Motions againſt the Miniſters —The King's Letter to the Aſſembly reſpecting the Diſpute of the Commiſſioners —Decree

Decree of the Aſſembly on the Occaſion —Condorcet's diſreſpectful Letter to the King—Advice of the Miniſters upon it —M. Bertrand adviſes differently—Copy of a Letter propoſed by him for his Majeſty—Bazire's inſulting Speech reſpecting M. de Narbonne—Rumours of the King's Intention to eſcape revived—Alarming Ferments in the Fauxbourgs—M. Cahier de Gerville's Letter on the Subject to the Directory of the Department of Paris—Deputation from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine to the Aſſembly —Their ſeditious Harangue—The Aſſembly counteract all the King's Meaſures—His Majeſty's Letter to the Municipality on the Rumours of his intending to eſcape—Oath propoſed for the King's Conſtitutional Guard—The Formation of their Majeſty's Houſehold diſcuſſed by the Miniſters—State of the Country—Obſervations on M. Cahier de Gerville's Report.

THE plan purſued by the Aſſembly was no longer a myſtery; it evidently tended to conſummate the debaſement of the Royal authority,

authority, by uſurping or annihilating the rights and functions attached to it by the Conſtitution, and thus to prepare the people for regarding royalty as a troubleſome and uſeleſs burden. In the execution of this plan, it was neceſſary to calumniate, inſult, and perſecute without intermiſſion all the Miniſters, in order to compel them to reſign through diſguſt; for though all perhaps were not in the ſame degree, or with equal zeal, devoted to the King, certainly there was not one of them capable of being unfaithful to him; it was therefore of great conſequence to get rid of them, and above all to reduce the King to the neceſſity of compoſing his Council of men more diſpoſed to ſecond the views of the factious. For this reaſon, the enthuſiaſm and kind of idolatry manifeſted by the Aſſembly for M. *de Narbonne* vaniſhed in leſs than a month. His general plan of reſources and operations was frittered away, and almoſt entirely abandoned; his demands were rejected or adjourned indefinitely; and his zeal and activity rewarded with denunciations and abuſe. M. *Cahier de Gerville*, whoſe popularity had much deeper roots, and whoſe ſincere attachment to the Conſtitution and

to

to the Revolution could not be called in queſtion, was not treated with any greater conſideration. He was ſo angry at it, that he ſeriouſly intended to reſign; it was mentioned in the public papers, and I muſt here ſay to his credit, that he conſented to delay his reſignation ſolely on the repreſentations we all made to him, that at that time it would be very prejudicial to the King, and completely rob the Miniſtry of all the little popularity they had left. It was therefore on the moſt laudable motives that M. *Cahier de Gerville* determined ſtill to ſhare our dangers, and clearly to hazard the remains of his popularity, in keeping a place of which he had never been ambitious, and which he had accepted with the greateſt reluctance, at the ſolicitation of the Keeper of the Seals, his intimate friend. I ſhould not do M. *de Gerville* all the juſtice he deſerves, were I not to add, that whatever value he ſet upon his popularity, the wiſh of preſerving it never inſtigated him to pay an officious courtſhip to the Aſſembly, or to conceal or weaken any of the truths which it was his duty to tell them; few Miniſters ſpoke more freely and firmly to them than he did.

Our

Our principal fault, in the eyes of the Legiſlative body, was our not always ſpeaking to them in the ſenſe of the Revolution, and our frequently confirming, in the accounts we gave them, facts that could not fail to render it odious. In thoſe caſes they never failed to accuſe us of inaccuracy and treachery; and it was on this pretence, as unjuſt as impudent, that the Aſſembly entered on the moſt ſerious attempt againſt the functions excluſively beſtowed by the Conſtitution on the Executive Power. "We "often find," ſaid one of the moſt deſpicable incendiaries of the *Coté-gauche* (*Bazire*), "that the informations which the "Miniſters give us are contradicted a few "days after by letters we receive from the "Departments. We muſt therefore adopt "ſome legal means of controlling the ac-"counts given us by the Miniſters, to gain "information, and find out the truth; for "it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that the "Conſtitution, which has ordered us to "keep a watch over the Miniſters, ſhould "have denied us the means of doing it. "It is therefore neceſſary, in order that the "National Aſſembly may not be deceived "in future, that they ſhould authorize their "Com-

" Committees to correſpond directly with " the Directories, and with all the civil and " military agents, and to take cognizance " themſelves, when they think proper, of " the facts that are denounced to us."

This motion, loudly applauded and ſupported by the galleries, and by all the Jacobin party, was oppoſed in vain by the ſoundeſt arguments, drawn from the words of the Conſtitution, and the intereſt of the Legiſlative body, who, from having inveſted their Committees with ſuch monſtrous power, might have expected to ſee them very ſoon imperiouſly governing all the conſtituted authorities, and the National Aſſembly themſelves. Thoſe arguments were anſwered only by the clamours and hiſſes of the galleries; but they anticipated the reaſons by which the King muſt be induced to refuſe his ſanction to the decree propoſed, if it ſhould be paſſed. The leaders of the factious were ſenſible of this inconvenience, and were at a loſs how to overcome it, till the moſt perfidious among them (*Condorcet*) extricated them from the dilemma: " I beg " to obſerve," ſaid he, with a ſmooth cant, " that there exiſts a Decree of the Conſti-

" tuent

" tuent Aſſembly, which authoriſes the " Committees to correſpond, under a certain " form, with the bodies of Adminiſtration." " True, true," cried at once ſeveral deputies, not one of which probably knew the decree of which he atteſted the exiſtence, for I have not the ſlighteſt idea that ſuch a decree was ever paſſed; but if it had really exiſted, it would indubitably have been cancelled by the Conſtitution, with which it could not have been reconciled. Nevertheleſs it was upon the ſuppoſed exiſtence of this decree, the date of which was not mentioned by any perſon, and upon the inability of paſſing one ſimilar to it, that the reſolution was taken to paſs to the order of the day, which, being thus grounded, attained the object propoſed by the factious as completely as a decree ſanctioned by the King could have done.

As ſoon as this reſolution was diſpoſed of, a debate took place on an impertinent pretenſion which the Commiſſioners appointed to attend for the ſanction had ſet forth, two days before, to the King, relative to the reſpect and honours with which his Majeſty was to receive them, when they went

to

to preſent the decrees of the Aſſembly to him. This ceremony had not been regulated by any decree, but according to the cuſtom which the Legiſlative Body had found eſtabliſhed by the Firſt Aſſembly, and to which they had till then conformed; the deputations of ſixty, or of twenty-four Members were introduced to the King's apartment when they appeared, and the folding doors of the council chamber were both thrown open to receive them. The Commiſſioners for receiving the ſanction, the number of whom was uſually four, ſent to aſk at what hour his Majeſty would receive them, and were alſo received in the council chamber, but without opening both the folds of the door. On the 3d of February, the King, while holding a council, was informed by the door-keeper, that the Commiſſioners for receiving the ſanction were arrived and inſiſted on being immediately admitted. We were all of opinion that the King ſhould adhere to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, and not interrupt his Council to receive theſe Commiſſioners, unleſs the buſineſs they came to preſent to his Majeſty was of an important and extraordinary nature, requiring an immediate deciſion. M. *Duport*

Duport du Tertre was accordingly ſent to inquire of thoſe gentlemen the object of their commiſſion. The Alſacian, *Rulk*, a furious Jacobin, told him, with his uſual brutality, that they were come to preſent to his Majeſty the decrees of the Aſſembly, that the repreſentatives of the Sovereign were not perſons to be kept waiting, and that it was very aſtoniſhing that, inſtead of their being immediately introduced into the King's preſence, they were mocked and put into a kind of office or anti-chamber, and informed that they were to be carried into the Ambaſſadors' chamber. M. *Duport du Tertre* repreſented to him with all poſſible moderation, that the King never made the Commiſſioners for receiving the ſanction wait, when they took care to aſk, according to cuſtom, the hour at which they might come; that his Majeſty was then in Council, which would probably be ſoon over, but that he could not interrupt it to receive them. He aſſured them; at the ſame time, that the room in which they were placed in the meanwhile was really the Ambaſſadors' chamber. *Rulk* did not perſiſt the leſs in his demands, and inſolently declared, that if they were not complied with, he would complain

complain of it the next day to the Aſſembly. This threat produced no change in our opinion; and the Commiſſioners for receiving the ſanction were not called in till the Council was over. They played a new ſcene at the door of the King's apartment, where they wanted to force the door-keeper to open both ſides of the folding-door, telling him, loud enough to be heard in the Council-chamber, that they were ſent by the National Aſſembly, *the Repreſentative of the Sovereign.* It was in vain that the door-keeper declared to them that his orders were not to open both folds but for the deputations of ſixty Members, they inſiſted upon it ſo peremptorily, that he was obliged to come and mention it to the King. M. *Duport du Tertre* was again ſent to them, to try to bring them to reaſon. He did not reſt ſatisfied with ſtating the uſage conſtantly obſerved to that moment, but added that the opening of the two folds of the door, which was conſidered at the houſes of Miniſters and private houſes as a reſpectful attention, conveyed no ſuch idea in the King's apartment, the doors never being opened on both ſides but to make the entering or going out more eaſy and ex-

peditious to perſons admitted in a great number into his Majeſty's preſence; that only one ſide was open to ambaſſadors, and that, beſides, if any thing was to be altered in the ceremony for the reception of the deputations and Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly, it was not by individual claims or particular acts that thoſe alterations were to be made, but it was by the Aſſembly themſelves, in concert with the King, that they were to be regulated. The Commiſſioners, not knowing what anſwer to make to remarks ſo obviouſly juſt, repeated their threats of complaining to the Aſſembly; and, finding that they could not obtain the opening of both the folds of the door, determined, at length, to enter according to the uſual form, and preſented the decrees they were charged with.

We flattered ourſelves that this miſerable diſpute would be attended with no conſequences, becauſe the perſon who had occaſioned it neither deſerved, nor, in fact, poſſeſſed any kind of conſideration or influence; he was an outrageous, furious Revolutioniſt, for ever in a fury, but without any talents whatever. He laid his complaints the next day before the Aſſembly as he

he had threatened, and we were aſtoniſhed both at the importance which they ſeemed to attach to this affair, and the indecency with which it was diſcuſſed.

One deputy (*Marlet*) impudently aſſerted, *that the Commiſſioners for receiving the ſanction had conſtantly reaſon to complain of the inſults they met with while waiting the Executive Power's time in his anti-chambers, expoſed to the inſolences of his footmen.* Another propoſed to remedy the difficulty, by ſending the decrees for the ſanction in future only by the door-keepers of the Aſſembly; a third deſired the Keeper of the Seals ſhould be held bound to come every day to the ſecretary's office for them. All this rudeneſs was greatly applauded by the galleries; and the Aſſembly, inſtead of expreſſing their anger at it, and paſſing to the order of the day, referred this denunciation to the Committee of Legiſlation, and appointed the report and deciſion upon it for the following Sitting.

The next day, February 5th, the Committee of Legiſlation not having made their report, and the queſtion being ſtill undecided, new Commiſſioners for the ſanction preſented themſelves at the King's apart-

ment while the Council was ſitting, and demanded, like the former ones, in the moſt imperious tone, immediate admiſſion, and that both ſides of the door ſhould be opened. The door-keeper came and told this to the King, who ſent M. *Duport du Tertre* to aſk thoſe gentlemen, whether the Committee of Legiſlation had made their report, and whether the Aſſembly had decided on their claim. They anſwered with leſs violence than *Rulk*, but as inſolently, that the Aſſembly had not yet determined any thing on it, but that their right was not the leſs certain, and that they would not give it up, but rather retire without preſenting the decrees for the ſanction. M. *Duport du Tertre* having tried in vain to bring them to a more reaſonable way of acting, came and reported to us what had paſſed. We were unanimouſly of opinion, that the King ſhould not yield to an obſtinacy ſo unjuſt and ſo indecent; but, in order to uſe every means of conciliation, and that M. *Duport du Tertre* ſhould not be the only one expoſed to the cenſure of this cabal, we went all together, with his Majeſty's approbation, to confer with theſe Commiſſioners, and try to make them ſenſible

ſible of the propriety and neceſſity of waiting for the deciſion of the Aſſembly on their claims. Our conference was attended with no better ſucceſs than the repreſentations of M. *Duport du Tertre.* The ſpeaker of this deputation was formerly an attorney of very bad character in the Parliament of Paris: his name was *Thuriot.* He delivered emphatically ſome patriotic commonplaces on the national dignity, on the rights of the ſovereign people, on the reſpect due to the Aſſembly who repreſented them, and to the deputations, who, whatever their number, always completely repreſented the Aſſembly, &c. We could never keep him to the point, which was, 1ſt, Whether the Commiſſioners for the ſanction had a right to come to the King at any time, without giving him notice, and to compel him to interrupt his Council to receive them? 2dly, Whether, this queſtion being ſubmitted to the deciſion of the Aſſembly, and not yet determined by them, the Commiſſioners for the ſanction ought not to conform to the exiſting cuſtom, till it was otherwiſe regulated? He only anſwered with vile quirks and petty ſhifts, interſperſed with much impertinence. We ſaw clearly that theſe

Commiſſioners were come with a fixed deſign of returning without preſenting the decrees for the ſanction, if they did not force the King to give up every point. All we could ſay to make them ſenſible of the ſcandal of ſuch a thing making no impreſſion upon them, we left them, and went to inform the King of what had paſſed between us and theſe Commiſſioners, and we confirmed his Majeſty in the opinion of its being a thouſand times better, in every point of view, to deſpiſe than ſubmit to their arrogance. In a few minutes the door-keeper came, and informed us that they were gone.

The attorney *Thuriot*, proud of the grand part he thought he had played in this important expedition, gave a very minute account, in the Sitting of next day, of his conteſts with the porter, the door-keeper of the Council, and the Miniſters, and ſpoke of his retreat as one of the nobleſt manœuvres of the Revolution. By his account, he had diſplayed in his commiſſion as much dignity and energy as ability and patriotiſm; he had ſilenced us all by the force of his arguments; and he proved this, by putting into our mouths flat and abſurd anſwers,

anſwers, of which certainly not a word had been ſpoken by us. The Aſſembly and the galleries admired this *great man*, and expreſſed their ſatisfaction to him by great clapping. A debate immediately took place on his report. The conduct of the Miniſters in the conference they had had with the Commiſſioners was conſidered as very reprehenſible, on the ground of their poſſeſſing no character that could entitle them to ſet up ſuch a conteſt between them and the repreſentatives of the nation. *Couthon* propoſed, in conſequence, to have them ſummoned that inſtant, and that the Preſident ſhould declare to them, that the Aſſembly formally diſapproved of their conduct. *Genſonné* was of opinion that a ſimple diſapprobation was much too mild a puniſhment for ſo ſerious a crime, and concluded with propoſing that previous to deciding on the penalty incurred by the Miniſters, they ſhould be ſummoned and heard, to aſcertain whether, in the conference in queſtion, they had acted and ſpoken collectively, or each for himſelf individually. Thus far had the deliberation proceeded, when it was interrupted by the reading of a letter which

the King had written to the Aſſembly, in the following terms:

" Paris, Feb. 6, 1792.

" Gentlemen,

" Some difficulty has ariſen reſpecting " the manner in which the Commiſſioners, " whom the National Aſſembly appoint to " bring me their decrees, ſhould be received " when they come. I have hitherto di- " rected the cuſtom that had been con- " ſtantly obſerved in my communications " with the Conſtituent Aſſembly to be kept " up; and I have thought it proper to " treat with diſtinction the occaſions which " the Legiſlative Body themſelves judge " right to mark with more ſolemnity in " their deputations by the number of the " deputies they ſend to me. Accordingly, " I directed the two ſides of the folding " door to be opened to the deputations of " ſixty, and I ordered them to be opened " alſo to the deputations of twenty-four, " when the National Aſſembly thought " proper to ſend them to me. The Com- " miſſioners who came on Friday to preſent " the decrees, demanded that both ſides of " the door ſhould be opened for them; but,

" as

" as thoſe Commiſſioners did not inſiſt " upon this claim after hearing the obſer- " vations which were made to them, I " paid no farther attention to it. I under- " ſtood that they had given an account of " it to the National Aſſembly, and that " the National Aſſembly had referred the " matter to one of their Committees to be " inquired into. Attaching no importance " to a circumſtance of this nature, I re- " ſolved to wait till the Aſſembly ſhould " inform me of their wiſh, if they thought " it right to attend to it; but I was ſur- " priſed that, before they had expreſſed " their mind on the occaſion, the Com- " miſſioners, who came yeſterday to preſent " the decrees for my ſanction, ſhould renew " this demand, and withdraw, becauſe I " choſe, till the Aſſembly had explained " their wiſhes, to maintain the cuſtom in- " variably obſerved. The Aſſembly will " no doubt be of opinion, that the neceſ- " ſary communications between them and " me ſhould never be interrupted, and will " aſſuredly loſe no time in concerting with " me the ſettlement of this buſineſs."

Signed, " LOUIS."

On

On the reading of this letter, all the motions againſt us were forgotten. The Committee of Legiſlation made their report on the ceremony to be obſerved reſpecting the deputations ſent to the King by the Legiſlative Body; and the Aſſembly decreed, that all thoſe deputations, of whatever number compoſed, being inveſted with the ſame character, ought to be received in the ſame manner, and conformably to the Law of the 17th of June 1791. The Preſident was charged to write to the King, to inform him that ſuch was the wiſh of the Aſſembly.

Condorcet, who happened to be the Preſident, obſerved with a ridiculous modeſty, that as the Conſtitution had not preſcribed a preced en for letters directly from the Preſident to the King, he was unacquainted with the form of it, and he begged the Aſſembly would have the goodneſs to point out one for him to follow. The Aſſembly decided, without heſitation, on the motion of one of the moſt illiterate of its members (*Rouhier*,) that the precedent for letters from the Preſident to the King ſhould be the ſame as that of the King's letters to the Aſſembly. *Condorcet* accordingly drew up this inſulting letter

letter in which he carefully avoided the expreſſions of *Your Majeſty*, and *I am with reſpect, &c.* for they had not been uſed by the King in his letter to the Aſſembly: and as his Majeſty's letter concluded with his ſignature without any previous form, that of the Preſident finiſhed with the ſignature of *Condorcet*, preceded only by the words, *The Preſident of the National Aſſembly.* Before he ſealed his letter he went and read it in the Evening Sitting, where all the impertinence of it was reliſhed with rapture. The letter was conceived in theſe terms:

"The National Aſſembly, Sire, have "charged me to make known to you the "deciſion they have made in the Sitting of "to-day. They wiſh for the execution of "the law of the 17th of June 1791, and "think that there is no diſtinction to be "made among their deputations, who are "all inveſted with the ſame character, of "whatever number they may be com-"poſed." The National Aſſembly are per-"ſuaded that it is your intention to maintain "the union which ought to reign between "them and you.

"The Preſident of the National Aſſembly."

Signed, "*Condorcet.*"

This

This letter obtained the moſt noiſy plaudits, and the Aſſembly forthwith determined that the Preſident ſhould name the Commiſſioners to go and deliver it to the King; but they ſoon ſaw that they ſhould find none willing to undertake the meſſage, for the moſt impudent excuſed themſelves from the fear of being ill received, and therefore ſome other means were to be ſought to get this letter to the King. A ſilly buffoon propoſed to ſend it by the Penny poſt, and the jeſt produced loud burſts of laughter. When the Aſſembly had laughed their full, they decreed that one of their door-keepers ſhould be the bearer of the Preſident's letter.

I was with the King in his apartment when the letter was delivered. He appeared to be greatly ſhocked on reading it.

"Is it poſſible to carry inſolence farther?" ſaid he, preſenting the letter to me. "It is from *Condorcet*."

After having read it, I obſerved, that if the letter had been addreſſed to a clerk of the Aſſembly, it could not have been written in a leſs reſpectful ſtyle.

"I hope," added I, "that your Majeſty "will not allow this inſolence to paſs unnoticed." "It

"It is, indeed too much," anſwered the King. "But what is to be done?"

"I think that in your Majeſty's place, I "would immediately ſend back the letter "to the Aſſembly. But I will not take "upon me to give you this advice until I "have reflected further upon it."

"Is not there to be a meeting of the Mi-"niſters this evening?" reſumed the King. "Go you to the Keeper of the Seals, I "ſhall ſend him the letter. Meanwhile I "will ſend the Aſſembly word that not being "appriſed that the Commiſſioners of the "Sanction were to come this evening, I "ſhould not receive them till to-morrow; "and I will name the hour.

I immediately went to the houſe of the Keeper of the Seals, and informed my colleagues, who were already there, of what had paſſed. Soon after the King ſent *Condorcet*'s letter; and they were all ſo much ſhocked at it, that I expected they would adviſe the King to repel the inſult in the ſtrongeſt terms: but upon examining the different articles of the conſtitution, they found that the caſe in queſtion had not been foreſeen, and they therefore concluded that it would be moſt prudent for the King to make no

anſwer

anſwer to the letter, which would ſufficiently mark his diſpleaſure.

I thought on the contrary, that the ſilence of the Conſtitution, on this head, only proved that it had never been doubted but that the reſpect, which had ever been conſidered as due to the King, was to be continued. But if they ſuppoſed that this ſilence authoriſed the ſlighteſt deviation from reſpect to his Majeſty, they might alſo ſuppoſe that it authoriſed the greateſt enormities; for nothing was ſaid in the Conſtitution againſt inſulting or even murdering the King. That beſides, the form of correſpondence betwixt the King and the Aſſembly being already fixed, namely, by preſenting their decrees, or ſending verbal meſſages by a deputation of the members, he had a right not to admit of any innovation which diſpleaſed him. That if they imagined there was any energy in the meaſure of not anſwering *Condorcet*'s letter, they muſt acknowledge that it was an energy of a paſſive nature; and that in the King's ſituation, ſuch a kind of energy would prove as hurtful as real weakneſs, as it tended to ſhew that he was hurt, without having power to reſent the injury.

Theſe reflections determined me to write the

the following letter to the King, on the 8th of February 1792:

" Your Majeſty has been adviſed to take " no notice of the Preſident of the Aſſembly's " letter. I, on the contrary, think, that tole- " rating this inſult will draw on many others " much more ſerious in their conſequences. " It appears to me of the higheſt importance " for your Majeſty to write immediately to " the Aſſembly. I ſend the copy of a letter; " and if your Majeſty approves of it, the Mi- " niſters may be inſtantly ſummoned, and the " letter communicated to them, as your own " opinion. It ſhould be in your own hand- " writing. Mine ought not to appear."

Copy of the Letter to the Aſſembly.

" Gentlemen,

" When the nation acknowledged me for " their King, they entruſted me with the dig- " nity inſeparable from the crown, which I " cannot, in any circumſtance, abandon. I " return the letter which the Preſident ſent " me yeſterday by a door-keeper. The Con- " ſtitution has ſettled the form of correſ- " pondence between the National Aſſembly

" and

" and the King. I ought not, and I will " not correſpond with them in any other " manner than that form; that is, receiving " meſſages or decrees. As for that reſpect " which is due to me, I will rely on the " ſentiments which the French have always " had for their King."

This meaſure appeared too ſtrong, and the negative energy of ſilence was preferred; conſequently no anſwer was ſent by his Majeſty to the letter of the Preſident.

It was not long before the Miniſters received the puniſhment of their weakneſs on this occaſion. The very next day, at the Evening Sitting, M. *de Narbonne*, whoſe activity in the preparations for war and in his correſpondence, had been aſcertained and exalted daily by letters inſerted in the public papers, was inſulted in the groſſeſt manner with impunity. " The Executive Power " ſleeps," ſaid impudently one of the moſt furious Members both of the Jacobin Club and of the Aſſembly, (*Bazire*,) " and " the hurry of that War Miniſter, who " is for ever beſieging the Aſſembly and " their Committees, only reſembles the " unmeaning motions of a ſleep-walker. " The plans and intentions of the Court are " impenetrable

" impenetrable—the Miniſters themſelves " do not agree, do not underſtand one ano- " ther. We have ſeen in the ſame Sitting, " the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs maintain- " ing that war would be unjuſt and impo- " litic, and propoſing negociations, and the " Miniſter of War aſking for an augmenta- " tion of the forces—There is but one means " to draw the Executive Power from its pre- " ſent inert ſtate, and to relieve ourſelves from " the cruel uncertainty in which we exiſt; " and that is, to paſs no decrees upon any " of the King's propoſitions, but to adjourn " all indefinitely till he ſhall have propoſed " war." M. *de Narbonne* roſe, and very gravely made a low bow to this orator, at which the Aſſembly laughed heartily: but their indelicate gaiety was no great civility to the Miniſter. It certainly made no amends for the inſult he had received, and ſo little prevented new ones, that a few minutes after, M. *de Narbonne*, ſpeaking of a buſineſs relative to this department, and having begun with ſaying, *that he thought it his duty to throw a light on the diſcuſſion of the Aſſembly*, was brutally interrupted at theſe words, by another deputy who bellowed out to him; *the Aſſembly ſtand in no*

need of light. M. *de Narbonne* eagerly declared that he was very far from pretending to enlighten the Aſſembly, but had only thought he might throw ſome light into their diſcuſſion; a declaration which gained him as much applauſe, as his interrupter had been rewarded with for his high opinion of the enlightened underſtandings of his colleagues.

The Jacobin Club and Revolutionary Journaliſts, ever ready to increaſe in audacity, when the Aſſembly ſet the example or gave the ſignal, no longer ſet any bounds to the violence of their declamations againſt the Royal Family and the Miniſters. New plots being daily mentioned in their impoſing pamphlets, all the ſuſpicions and alarms on the pretended projects for the King's eſcape were revived. The Fauxbourgs were in a moſt alarming ferment. Pikes on a new conſtruction were made in great quantities: they had hooks fixed on them, intended, it was *gaily* ſaid, to tear out the bowels of the Emigrants, Miniſterialiſts, &c. Men armed with theſe new pikes were ſeen in the ſtreets, *Palais-royal,* Thuilleries-gardens, and under the very windows of the King's apartments, without the leaſt attention appearing to be paid to it by the

the Municipality. On this occaſion M. *Cahier de Gerville* wrote the following letter to the Directory of the Department of Paris on the 11th of February. "Gentlemen, rumours are ſpread which alarm and afflict the good citizens. It is ſaid that ſome enemies of the Conſtitution, whatever be their object, are agitating the people, filling their minds with diſtruſt, urging them to ſedition, and conſpiring in every ſenſe againſt the public liberty. The king has commanded me, gentlemen, to call your attention to the cauſes of this hidden ferment, which in breaking out may become very diſaſtrous, and you will no doubt think yourſelves indiſpenſably obliged to make the citizens of Paris aware of the ſnares laid for them, and to take in time all the ſteps you ſhall deem proper for maintaining, if neceſſary, the public order. His Majeſty hopes that you will enable me to give him a ſatisfactory account of the ſteps you take to ſupport his views, and you are certain, gentlemen, that you will always find the King ready to ſupport with all his authority the meaſures which your zeal, pru-

" dence, and patriotiſm, ſhall dictate to " you."

On the ſame day the King *invited** the Mayor and Solicitor of the Commune to the Palace, and repreſented to them the ſame circumſtances. The Municipality having in the mean time received the requiſition of the Directory of the Department on this affair, paſſed a reſolution, by which they ordered merely that the citizens not inſcribed on the rolls of the National Guards, who had provided themſelves with pikes, guns, or other oſtenſible arms, ſhould be bound to make a declaration thereof in eight days to the Committee of their Section, and that thoſe who ſhould be found wandering about the ſtreets, ſquares, and public places, armed with pikes or guns, ſhould be immediately diſarmed, and taken as ſuſpected perſons before the officers of the police.

Notwithſtanding this reſolution, a numerous deputation from the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, armed with theſe pikes, preſented themſelves the next day at the bar of the Aſſembly, where they delivered a moſt ſeditious ha-

* The King had not even the right of ſending a ſummons for the Municipal officers!

rangue;

rangue; but what rendered it ſtill more remarkable was, that the Aſſembly, not ſatisfied with applauding it, ordered it to be inſerted in the minutes, where the following expreſſions were recorded verbatim:—"We come "to preſent you with the pikes which "we have had fabricated to combat the "enemies of the Conſtitution. We beſeech "you to keep a watch upon the Palace of "the Thuilleries, where there ſtill exiſts more "than one audacious noble, and more than "one Cardinal *de Loraine*—It will not be "long before the lion wakes. We are ready "to purge the earth of the friends of the King, "and to compel himſelf to deceive us no "more. We will be free; we have ſworn "it. The men of the 14th of July who "overturn Baſtiles, do not ſwear in vain. "Receive our pikes and our ſacred aſſu-"rances to cauſe the general will to be "reſpected. It is what may ſave the Em-"pire, and what the children of the coun-"try ought to offer, and to depoſe in the bo-"ſom of the repreſentatives of a ſovereign "people *."

The

* "Where will theſe pikes go?" ſaid *Briſſot*, in his paper of the 13th of February, "Wherever ye ſhall be,

The Aſſembly were not contented with approving and even honouring all that tended to keep up the diſtruſt and agitation of the people, they alſo deſtroyed or prevented the effect of all the meaſures taken by the King to counteract them. This will be evinced by the two following facts.

There were few Sittings in which M. *de Leſſart* did not communicate the moſt favourable diſpatches on the intentions of the Court of Vienna and the Electors. From theſe it appeared, that none of the foreign Powers were diſpoſed to encourage projects for a counter revolution; that the Emigrants were everywhere diſperſed, ſet adrift, and driven from our frontiers; that all hoſtile preparations, aſſembling, and forming of any corps whatever, were ſtrictly forbidden them; that conſequently they could no longer give the leaſt uneaſineſs, and that France had neither a civil nor a foreign war to fear. Nevertheleſs, the wiſh of the Aſ-

" ye enemies of the people."—" Will they dare to go " to the Palace of the Thuilleries?"—" Yes certainly, " if ye be there."—" Who ſhall command theſe pikes?" —" Neceſſity,"—" Who ſhall diſtribute them?"— " Patriotiſm. Pikes began the Revolution; pikes ſhall " end it."

ſembly

ſembly for war continued fixed; their perpetual provocations of all the Powers of Europe loſt nothing of their inſolence; their declamations againſt the Emigrants daily increaſed in violence and injuſtice. Thoſe unfortunate men were conſidered as guilty of a crime, not only on account of the conſpiracies of which they were accuſed without proof, but even on account of their abſence; and the ſequeſtration of all their property, which was held to be the mildeſt puniſhment that could be inflicted upon them, was decreed almoſt unanimouſly in the Sitting of the 9th of February.

The other fact is this: when the progreſs of anarchy and ſeditious commotions, always ready to break out in the Capital, determined the King to accelerate the eſtabliſhment of the firſt diviſion of his Conſtitutional Guard, the Aſſembly, being conſulted by the Municipality on the oath which this Guard was to take, were not content with dictating the form of it, but added, very unconſtitutionally, to the Decree which they paſſed on this occaſion on the 13th of February, regulations the moſt calculated to keep alive all the fears on the pretended

projects for the King's eſcape, and to weaken the effect of the letter his Majeſty had written with his own hand that very day to the Municipality, in order to undeceive the people, and remove their apprehenſions *. The following is a copy of his Majeſty's letter:

" Paris, February 13, 1792.

" Gentlemen,

" I have already ſpoken to ſeveral of you " reſpecting the rumours that are ſpread of " my pretended departure from Paris; and " I thought what I had ſaid would have been " enough to put an end to them; but as they " are ſtill propagated by ill-diſpoſed perſons " for the purpoſe of alarming the inhabi- " tants of Paris, and aſperſing my inten- " tions, I wiſh to explain myſelf clearly " as to my manner of thinking. I know " the duties which the Conſtitution pre- " ſcribe for me, and I will always perform

* The 5th article of this decree contained the following regulations: " When the Legiſlative body is aſ- " ſembled, the guard in the King's pay ſhall not follow " him, if he fixes his reſidence at more than twenty " leagues diſtance from the town where the National " Aſſembly ſhall hold their Sittings; and in no caſe " ſhall they follow him out of the kingdom."

" them;

" them: but I alſo know the rights it gives
" me; and I ſhall never forego the power
" of uſing them. Nothing then keeps me
" in Paris but my own will; and as I think
" my preſence neceſſary, I declare that I
" wiſh to remain here, that I will remain
" here, and that when I have cauſe to re-
" move, I will not ſteal away. I muſt add,
" that only ſuch as are totally deſtitute of
" ſenſe, or completely perverſe, can raiſe
" any doubts of my inviolable devotion to
" the happineſs of the nation, and of my
" attachment to the inhabitants of Paris."

The eſtabliſhment of the King's Conſtitutional Guards alarmed the factious ſo much, that in the debate reſpecting the oath to be taken, they obſtinately inſiſted, in which they were greatly applauded by the galleries, on adding to it, that they ſhould ſwear not to ſerve, *in any caſe*, againſt the citizens; and they at laſt gave up this article, only upon its being obſerved, that the principal obligation reſulting from the oath *of being faithful to the nation*, was to make no attack, in any caſe, on the perſonal liberty of the citizens; and that conſequently the addition propoſed by *Bazire*, *Vergniaux*, *Lagrevole*, &c. would only be a uſeleſs

a uſeleſs pleonaſm. The new guard then would have completely entered into the ſpirit of this decree, by confining themſelves to repulſe foreign ruffians, and leaving the citizens at full and entire liberty to aſſaſſinate the King, when it ſhould ſeem good to them! The following chapters will but too well prove the juſtice of this obſervation.

The Miniſters were always ſolicitous to increaſe the King's popularity, but more particularly at thoſe critical times when the ferment of the people foretold ſome exploſion at hand in the Capital, or when the factious ſhowed the progreſs of their power, and aſcertained the advance of it by the degree of audacity they gave to their declamations againſt the Executive Power, and the Miniſt rs. The diſpute *about the two ſides of the folding door*, and *Condorcet*'s letter, were the moſt inſolent actions the Aſſembly had yet proceeded to in reſpect of the King, we therefore adviſed his Majeſty to take a ride on horſeback through the Fauxbourgs, talk affably to ſome of the people, ſtop and viſit a hoſpital, and diſtribute alms with his own hands. Theſe acts of beneficence and humanity, ſo conſonant to the feelings of his heart, produced a few

a few ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* but was of no farther advantage to him.

The formation of his Majeſty's houſehold, and of the Queen's, which the Miniſters had paſſed over, on account of the difficulty they had experienced in performing the taſk the King had given each of them on the ſubject, now appeared to them a meaſure of the utmoſt importance, particularly if, as they flattered themſelves, they could prevail on his Majeſty to admit only perſons of acknowledged patriotiſm. The Miniſters accordingly reſumed the buſineſs, and ſome of them propoſed plans, and gave in liſts of names for the purpoſe. I informed his Majeſty of this the next day, February 13, by the following letter, reported in page 122 of the third collection of the papers of the King's trial, voucher 98.

"At the meeting of the Miniſters laſt "night, the ſubject of your Majeſty's "houſehold was diſcuſſed at large. A liſt "has been drawn up, on which thirty "names already appear. The further con-"ſideration of the plan is appointed for the "meeting on Tueſday. The old calendar

"of

" of Verſailles and the Court calendar of " London are to be conſulted.

" As my only deſire is to preſent to your " Majeſty ſuch a plan and liſt of per- " ſons as may be agreeable to you, I beg " your Majeſty will have the goodneſs to " acquaint me with your wiſhes. I will " do every thing in my power to effect them " at the meeting without creating the " ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of my having received " ſuch a mark of confidence, of which I " am ambitious only to be able to give your " Majeſty a new proof of my reſpect and " unbounded attachment *."

It would carry me too great a length, were I to enter here into a detail of the religious troubles, inſurrections, and outrages without number, which were daily renewed with impunity in all the provinces of the kingdom, ſometimes on account of the dearneſs of grain and ſcarcity of ſpecie;

* The King ſent me no written anſwer to this letter, but when in the courſe of the ſame day I attended his levee, he came up to the window where I was, and ſaid in a low voice, while he appeared to be looking into the court of the Palace, " I have received your " letter, let them make out their liſt."

and

and ſometimes through the jealouſy exiſting between the Clubs and the conſtituted authorities, or the miſunderſtanding and perpetual conflicts between the Department and the Municipalities. The Journals of this period, the Minutes of the Aſſembly, and the report made by M. *Cahier de Gerville* on the 18th of February, on the ſituation of the kingdom, will furniſh hiſtory with very complete materials on this ſubject. The commotions that agitated the Capital having paſſed under my own eyes, and having fixed my attention more than all the others, my teſtimony reſpecting them may alſo deſerve to be relied on. I ſhall only obſerve here, reſpecting M. *Cahier de Gerville*'s report, that it diſplayed as much courage as honeſty in cenſuring ſo energetically the formidable power of the Clubs, in ſhowing ſo ſeriouſly the depth of the anarchy which deſolated France, with the ſymptoms of diſſolution that appeared in all the Departments, and in preſenting ſo faithful a picture of it to the Aſſembly, that they could not but recognize their work. In this report, the ſlight and indifference with which religion was treated were juſtly blamed. It was not accurate, nor did it by any

any means become a Miniſter of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to ſay, "that there was "not in France any national religion; that "it was of little conſequence to the State "whether a man went to maſs or not; and "that the happieſt time would be that in "which unlimited toleration ſhould exempt "the people and the laws from any conſi-"deration either of prieſts or religion, &c." It was extremely unjuſt to make no difference between the Conſtitutional prieſts, and thoſe who had remained faithful, and to declare them equally fanatics and perſecutors. It was well known that the nonjuring prieſts, who were everywhere ill treated by the Clubs and the populace, had no means of exerciſing perſecutions, and very few of eſcaping them.

Had M. *Cahier de Gerville* been employed in the Adminiſtration under the old government, he might have been able, in his report to the Aſſembly, to give them the moſt important information reſpecting inſurrections occaſioned by the dearneſs of corn. He might have proved to them, that before the Revolution the worſt harveſts never cauſed the price of proviſions to riſe in France, but in a very inferior degree to that which they experienced

rienced in 1792, although the preceding harveſt had not been bad. He might have informed them that the circulation of grain, which was always free in the interior; its exportation, which was ſeaſonably permitted or prohibited; its importation, which was encouraged by bounties when circumſtances required it; the proviſion acquired from foreigners by the African Company, by the Victualling Offices in the War and Marine Departments, &c. effectually prevented want, and kept the price of grain nearly on a level in all the provinces, the reſpective deficiencies of which were always perfectly well known by the ſtatements of the crops, of the exportations and of the importations, returned by the Intendants *. This truly paternal ſuperintendence, which to all the neceſſary information added the

* It is one of the greateſt miſtakes of economiſts to imagine, that the ſubſiſtence of an extenſive population can be left without inconvenience to the ſpeculations of commerce. On the contrary, prudence and experience teach us that in a great Empire, and even in a great town, the firſt duty of the Government is to ſecure for the people the firſt neceſſary of life, conſequently that the articles of food ſhould be the conſtant object of the vigilance of the Government, and even frequently demand their moſt active interference.

power

power of taking the meaſures pointed out by it, without the impediments of ſeditious commotions, was entirely annihilated; this eſſential part of the general police of the kingdom having no longer a central point, and being truſted to thouſands of intruders, or miſerable novices in Adminiſtration, exiſted no more; and France, accuſtomed under the old ſyſtem to abundance, even in years of ſcarcity, now felt when there was no real ſcarcity, and has ſince moſt cruelly felt, under the revolutionary ſyſtem, the horrors of a famine, of which the ſole cauſes were the ignorance and robberies of the new officers of Adminiſtration.

Theſe are the truths which, no doubt, M. *Cahier de Gerville* would have pointed out to the Aſſembly, had he occupied a ſituation to have been more acquainted with them: and though it is more than probable that they would have made little impreſſion on this Aſſembly, they might have made much upon the nation, by calling its attention to the firſt of its intereſts.

CHAP.

CHAPTER X.

The Aſſembly reſolve to ruin the Miniſters—Debate on the Mode of determining their Reſponſibility—Herault de Sechelles' Speech on that Subject—Cavelier's Report againſt M. Bertrand ſurreptitiouſly introduced—Step taken by M. Bertrand to fruſtrate this Treachery—Decree relative to the Correſpondence of the Miniſters with the Aſſembly—M. Cahier de Gerville's defence againſt the Charge of Inactivity—Attempt to form a Conſtitutional Coalition, and to ſecure a Neutrality in the Galleries of the Hall—The Members of the propoſed Coalition

apply for the Uſe of the Hall when vacant—Violent Oppoſition of the Jacobins—Reſolutions of the Miniſtry relative to the Coalition—The whole Plan fruſtrated by M. de Narbonne's Imprudence—The Generals Rochambeau, La Fayette, and Luckner called to Paris by M. de Narbonne—Their Interview with the King—Letters from the Three Generals to M. de Narbonne—Conſequence of theſe Letters being publiſhed.

THE ſame fatal diſorder which under the Firſt Aſſembly undermined the throne, clearly threatened to put an end to the New Conſtitution, and ſhowed itſelf by ſimilar ſymptoms. The moſt manifeſt violations of it were accompanied with vows of fidelity to it, juſt as the moſt ſerious attacks on the royal dignity, and its prerogatives, had been almoſt always attended with the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* It was the intention of the party who ruled the Firſt Aſſembly, in deſtroying the Monarchy, to retain in the Democratic Government they were eſtabliſhing, the title of Monarchical Government, and a King. The party who ruled the

the Legiſlative Body, as little inclined to have a King without Monarchy as a Democratic Government with a King, were determined to annihilate the Conſtitution, which had produced theſe monſtrous abſurdities, and openly proceeded in their plan. As the execution of it, however, could not but be counteracted and delayed by the fidelity of the Miniſters to their oath and the nation, to the law and the King, it was requiſite to get rid of them, either by rendering them odious to the people, or by perſecuting and diſguſting them into a reſignation of their offices to make way for men leſs ſcrupulous, and more diſpoſed to favour the conſpiracy for a new Revolution. The Aſſembly accordingly now began impudently to throw the blame of the troubles, and of all the exceſſes denounced to them, on the pretended inactivity of the Executive Power. Had this reproach been only unjuſt, we ſhould not have been aſtoniſhed at it, but it was extremely impolitic; for we could only defend ourſelves by charging the Aſſembly with it, and we could do it very clearly, for they it was who really fettered the adminiſtration, by not forwarding indiſpenſable decrees, which we were inceſſantly begging of them,

and not to wait for which would have been turned into a crime againſt us. This general attack upon the Miniſtry was ſupported by particular denunciations againſt each of us, the Miniſter of the Finances (M. *Tarbé*) alone excepted, accompanied with the report of the Committee of Legiſlation reſpecting the mode of determining the reſponſibility of the Miniſters, *in order to prevent the fatal inactivity of the Executive Power*. In a word, the Aſſembly, on this occaſion, neglected none of the means of terror which they had in their power, and brought them all forward together to be the more ſure of their ſucceſs.

A new law on the reſponſibility of the Miniſters might not have attained the end propoſed, as it was in the King's power to render it uſeleſs by refuſing to ſanction it. The point then was, by means of metaphyſical fuſtian, bombaſt, unintelligible arguments, and a very artful combination of the rules of the Conſtitution with thoſe of the criminal code and decrees of the Firſt Aſſembly, to diſcover in thoſe laws what was not there, and particularly a complete code on the reſponſibility of the Miniſters, ſo terrible, as to render a new law on that head

head unneceſſary. This taſk was performed by the reporter of the Committee (*Herault de Sechelles*) in a long ſpeech, of which I ſhall give the heads, to ſhow the character, principles, and talents of this man, who had formerly been Advocate General in the Parliament of Paris.

" If by the reſponſibility of a Miniſter," ſaid he, " be underſtood his being anſwer-
" able only for his direct and manifeſt
" treachery, it would evidently be but a
" feeble ſecurity for liberty. It rarely is
" the caſe in the chief offices, that a man,
" be he ever ſo corrupt, is ſo witleſs as to
" commit ſuch treachery. He knows
" how to ſcreen himſelf under actions,
" which, though guilty, it is almoſt im-
" poſſible to prove ſtrictly. He will ruin
" the public intereſt by a wilful neglect,
" which ſhall only appear a want of acti-
" vity; by treacherous meaſures, which he
" may paſs for ſimple errors; by faults which
" he will impute to a defect of judgment.
" Your Committee have collected the re-
" medies to be found in the exiſting laws
" for this evil. The laws are thoſe relative
" to the organization of the Miniſtry, the
" Conſtitution, and the penal code. The

"means afforded by the Conſtitution do "not ſtrike ſufficiently at firſt ſight: they "conſiſt indeed in expreſſions ſo ſcattered, "unconnected, and placed at ſo great a "diſtance from one another, that they re-"quire to be brought together and connected "to form a body, and to ſhow that the "Conſtitution is a work more real than "ſtriking. We have no ſatisfactory defi-"nition of reſponſibility, often mentioned, "but never explained in the Conſtitution; "we cannot doubt its exiſtence, but the "queſtion is, what is its eſſence? Without "preſuming to define it, we will confine "ourſelves to the following deſcription of "it: *It is the penal code for authority; it "is the long chain of all the duties of a "Miniſter, and the penalty or reparation "which correſponds to each of the links**. "It is divided into ſeveral kinds: *general* "reſponſibility for all offences againſt the "national ſecurity and the Conſtitution; "*particular* reſponſibility for every attack "on perſonal liberty and private property; "*criminal* reſponſibility, for all that goes "under the name of offences (*delits*), and

What ſad bombaſt!

" for which the Legiſlative Body may paſs
" a decree of impeachment; *civil* reſpon-
" ſibility, for what relates to the examina-
" tion of accounts; *poſitive* reſponſibility,
" for whatever the Miniſter may do; and
" *negative* reſponſibility, for whatever he
" may omit. The great difficulty ariſes
" in form from two articles I ſhall ſtate.
" The law on the organization of the
" Miniſtry ſays, *that the Miniſters ſhall*
" *be bound to give an account of their con-*
" *duct whenever required by the Legiſlative*
" *Body*. The Conſtitution ſays, *that the*
" *Miniſters are reſponſible for all the of-*
" *fences committed by them againſt the*
" *national ſecurity and the Conſtitution.*
" If we would know the poſitive caſe, we
" are not to look for it in the Conſtitution,
" but in the penal code. There we ſhall
" ſee a liſt of the puniſhments with their
" duration and degree, placed oppoſite to
" thoſe offences; civic degradation, im-
" priſonment, ſtrict confinement, irons, and
" death. All who know how to value
" civil equality, muſt bleſs this recent
" victory of philoſophy and juſtice. With
" reſpect to negative caſes, it muſt be con-
" feſſed that no hand has yet traced them;

" but conſider that it was at once uſeleſs,
" perhaps impoſſible, and certainly dan-
" gerous to attempt enumerating them.
" This would furniſh Miniſters with a
" conſtant means of eſcaping for thoſe not
" enumerated, by ſaying that the circum-
" ſtance had not yet been provided for.
" From theſe reflections it muſt be inferred,
" that if laws cannot be made to contain
" all the offences of omiſſion, at leaſt it is
" not impoſſible, and it is neceſſary, to
" have a common meaſure, by means of
" which, omiſſion itſelf may be generally
" and effectually remedied, like thoſe me-
" thods which, in the ſciences, accompany
" every poſſible problem with a ſort of
" ſecurity. The Conſtitution has eſta-
" bliſhed a National Supreme Court, formed
" of the Members of the Court of Appeal
" and of grand juries, to take cognizance
" of the offences of the Miniſters, and of
" the crimes againſt the general ſecurity of
" the State. Certainly it is not poſſible to
" mark more ſtrongly the diſtinction as to
" the objects, and their union as to the
" jurisdiction. The National Supreme
" Court ought not only to take cognizance
" of the crimes of the Miniſters, they ought
" alſo

" alſo to take cognizance of their offences*.
" But, it will be aſked, can you proſecute
" offences, like crimes, by impeachment?
" Yes, it is impoſſible to deny it; the Con-
" ſtitution is explicit. The only difficulty
" that now remains is, to know what ſen-
" tence the National Supreme Court is to
" paſs upon a miniſterial offence brought
" before it, not being able to borrow from
" the penal code the puniſhments annexed
" only to crimes. Is not there then a means
" to be found in the Conſtitution itſelf?
" Cannot negligence, tardineſs, and im-
" proper meaſures, be placed by a decree
" among the offences againſt the public
" ſafety? There is not even any occaſion
" for the Aſſembly to declare it: the grand

* Non ſeulement la Haute Cour Nationale doit connoître des *crimes* des Miniſtres, elle doit connoître encore de leurs *delits*. It cannot be ſuppoſed that the Speaker did not know that the word *delit (offence)* was a term of practice and of legiſlation, which had exactly the ſame ſignification as the word *crime*; he muſt therefore have given it a more confined one, merely to be able to extend reſponſibility not only to the crimes of the Miniſters, but to their faults, to their errors, to what he called their negative conduct. *Robeſpierre* himſelf would not have reaſoned differently.

" jury

" jury might determine whether, by ſuch
" negative conduct, the ſafety of the State
" had been endangered, and if they deter-
" mined in the affirmative, the Miniſter
" ſhould be puniſhed. Are you afraid of
" too much ſeverity? Do you ſhrink from
" the very ſhadow of injuſtice? Well,
" annex to this kind of offence the mildeſt
" penalty: let it not go beyond the loſs of
" the Miniſter's place; for, though his
" offence be not treated as a crime, it does
" not follow that he may not be tried;
" and as it is a proof of his unfitneſs for
" public buſineſs, he ſhould be ſentenced
" to be removed from his office. And let
" it not be objected here, that a clauſe of
" the Conſtitution ſays, *that to the King*
" *alone belong the choice and removal*
" *of the Miniſters.*' This objection could
" be but the ſophiſm of treachery. Yes,
" no doubt, the removal belongs to the
" King, but that is not to prevent a judg-
" ment. It is not that there may not be
" occaſions in which this right of removal
" may be urged, and put into action by the
" interference of the Legiſlative Body.
" The law on the organization of the
" Miniſtry does, in fact, declare, that the
" Legiſlative

" Legiſlative Body may preſent to the King
" ſuch obſervations as they ſhall judge
" proper on the conduct of the Miniſters,
" and even declare to him that they have
" loſt the confidence of the Nation*. As
" to the queſtion, in what manner and by
" what action the reſponſibility of the
" Miniſters ſhall be determined? the Con-
" ſtitution, the law relative to the Miniſtry,
" and the penal code, have provided and
" ſettled every thing. The Miniſters, in
" their capacity of ſuperior agents of the
" Executive Power, ſhall be amenable to
" the Judicial Power. The ordinary Courts
" ſhall take cognizance of their civil re-
" ſponſibility in a ſimple action; but, with
" reſpect to their criminal reſponſibility,
" the National Supreme Court ſhall alone
" try their crimes and offences, by virtue of
" a decree of impeachment. The crimes
" ſhall be tried according to the penal code;
" the offences, being all criminal, ſhall
" conſequently be ſubject, according to the

* This decree, which was prior to the Conſtitution, not being conformable to it, was revoked by implication, like all the other Conſtitutional decrees of which the regulations were not expreſsly confirmed by it.

" exigence

" exigence of the caſe, to applications of " the penal code; and, as the leſs is con- " tained in the greater, as by analogy, the " judges are removed for miſconduct, ac- " cording to the Conſtitution, it is evident, " that the ſlighteſt penalty to be inflicted " on the Miniſters by the Supreme Court " may be that of removal for miſconduct. " You will no longer then be at a loſs for " the mode of determining the reſponſibility " of the Miniſters:—the power which you " were labouring to diſcover, you have; the " Conſtitution has given it to you;—the " inſtrument exiſts—it is at your hand— " you have only to act."

The Speaker concluded with moving, conformably to the opinion of the Committee of Legiſlation, that the Aſſembly ſhould paſs to the order of the day, without going into the buſineſs of ſettling the mode of determining the reſponſibility of the Miniſters, the Conſtitution having ſufficiently provided for it.

The principal object of this report was, to prepare the way for that which the Marine Committee intended to make againſt me in the ſame Sitting, relative to the delays in the new organization of the marine ſervice.

ſervice. Theſe delays were charged to me, not only as an offence of neglect or inactivity, but as the effect of a criminal oppoſition to the execution of the decrees of the Conſtitution. Thus all M. *Herault de Sechelles'* doctrine on reſponſibility and negative offences would have been immediately applied*. This manœuvre had been very ſkilfully planned. The reporter (*Cavelier*) had truſted it only to ſuch of his colleagues as had ſhown the greateſt inveteracy againſt me. He had made his report to the Committee in the evening of the 21ſt, without giving any previous notice of it, and did not introduce it till paſt nine o'clock, in the hope of the debate been carried on ſo long that I ſhould not be able to know the reſult of it till the next day, and conſequently too late to ward the deciſive blow aimed at me; but, fortunately, an honeſt Member of the Committee, ſhocked at all theſe under-hand dealings, came to my houſe the moment the Sitting

* It may not be improper to recollect here, that this very *Herault de Sechelles* was charged to draw up the Memorial which the Aſſembly were to ſend to the King on the different grievances they laid to my charge.

was

was over, and informed me, that a majority had voted for a decree of impeachment againſt me, which was to be propoſed the next day to the Aſſembly.

It was paſt twelve o'clock when I heard this news. I ſpent a great part of the night in reflecting on my ſituation, and the dangers of it were the more apparent to me, as I knew that the report of the Committee of Legiſlation on the reſponſibility of Miniſters was to be made the next day by *Hercult de Sechelles*, who, having had the baſeneſs to join my enemies, might have connected his report with that which they had prepared againſt me.

I too well knew the diſpoſition of the Aſſembly towards me, not to apprehend that it would be decided without my being heard; and the decree of impeachment once paſſed, it would have been difficult to have obtained the revocation of it. It was therefore more prudent to prevent the report being made; and I gained this point by eaſy means. I immediately wrote a letter to the Preſident of the Aſſembly, in which I complained bitterly that none of the decrees were paſſed which I ſtood in need of to complete the organization of the Marine Department, although

although I had given a ſketch of thoſe decrees in a ſpeech I had delivered laſt October, and although the Aſſembly had acknowledged the neceſſity of them. I expreſſed myſelf particularly hurt, leſt they who were unacquainted with this circumſtance ſhould imputte the delay given to the meaſures entirely to my want of diligence*.

This letter, which was read in the Aſſembly at the moment when the Marine Committee were going to make the report, in order to found the decree of impeachment againſt me, entirely diſconcerted the Speaker and his friends. Their declamations, and the ſteps they had taken to inſure the majority of votes, were rendered completely ridiculous.

They revenged themſelves a few days after, by obtaining a decree, importing, that whereas the reading of letters from the Miniſters in the Aſſembly occaſioned much loſs of time, henceforth they ſhould be referred to the Committees, who ſhould only give an account of ſuch as were of ſufficient conſequence to merit the attention of the Aſſembly.

* See the letter addreſſed to the Preſident by the Miniſter of the Marine, Feb. 22, 1792. Appendix, No. XII.

This

This decree, by which they flattered themſelves they ſhould have the power of weakening or ſuppreſſing, at pleaſure, our means of defence, gave me no uneaſineſs, becauſe the Miniſters ſtill retaining the right of attending, and ſpeaking in the Aſſembly, that means was left them to prevent or repel the attacks that were made upon them.

Of this right M. *de Narbonne* had taken advantage ſome days before to preſent to the Aſſembly a long liſt of the determinations or decrees, which he had been conſtantly applying for, but had not obtained. M. *Cahier de Gerville* repelled with ſtill greater energy, in the Sitting of the 26th of February, the cenſure of *intentional inactivity* caſt upon the Executive Power. "Of this cenſure," ſaid he, "I ſhall take notice only of what concerns myſelf. I will ſay, that although I have a right to "the indulgence of every juſt mind, on account of the immenſe extent of the buſineſs "on my ſhoulders, I defy any one to mention "a ſingle circumſtance in my department "which I have left behind-hand, and I will "lay before the Aſſembly a notice of two "hundred decrees neceſſary to my adminiſtration, which I have vainly ſolicited ever ſince

"my

" my appointment in the Miniſtry*. It " has been ſaid that the Executive Power " did not proceed in the ſpirit of the Revo- " lution and of the Conſtitution: I know it " proceeds with uncertainty and irreſolution; " that even the Conſtitution which is good, " very good, whatever may be ſaid of it, is " often contradictory in the means it marks " out, and the neceſſary employment of thoſe " means; but I will ſay that no one can re- " proach me with not following the Con- " ſtitutional line. I have ſerved the Revo- " lution; I can produce my titles on the " grounds of patriotiſm, and opinion would " be ſtrangely altered reſpecting me, were I " thought capable of ſacrificing my ſenti- " ments and principles to any place what- " ever. I do not believe it neceſſary for me " to diſplay my proofs on this head; but I " muſt obſerve that the reputation of a pub- " lic officer manifeſtly irreproachable, even " though he ſhould be a Miniſter, ought not " to be lightly attacked†."

It

* The Aſſembly had been equally neglectful with reſpect to the Department of the Miniſter of Juſtice.

† Two days after this a letter from M. *Cahier de Gerville* was read in the Aſſembly, by which it appeared that

It was evident then that the action of the Executive Power was really clogged by the inaction of the Aſſembly, and conſequently that they and not the Miniſters were to be cenſured.

This perpetual conteſt would in fact have been nothing more than a game to us, had we not been more ſcrupulous than our enemies in the choice of our means of defence; but the excluſive power in poſſeſſion of the Jacobins, of employing with impunity the moſt criminal means when of uſe to them, always ſecured them an immenſe advantage, againſt which men of principle had nothing to oppoſe*. The only mean of ſafety left in that caſe was to ſtrengthen the Conſtitutional party, or *Coté-droit* of the Aſſembly, by adding to them, by every mode of influence, the majority of the party known by the name of *the independent*, or *undetermined*, that is to ſay, thoſe who voted ſometimes with the *Coté-*

ſince his appointment in the Miniſtry, he had diſpatched eight hundred and nine laws to the different Departments.

* "You have nothing to fear from the Ariſtocrats," ſaid *Mirabeau*, one day to his partizans, "thoſe people do "not pillage, burn, or aſſaſſinate; what can they do "againſt us? let them be noiſy; it is all over with "them." He ſpoke but too truly.

droit,

droit, and ſometimes with the *Coté-gauche*, without well knowing why, and as if to ſhow that they were to be bought by the party who would pay them beſt. It is true, indeed, that compoſed as this Aſſembly was, there were very few of the Members in the party of the moſt violent Revolutioniſts, whoſe patriotiſm was proof againſt a pecuniary offer, or a bait of ſome lucrative employment for their relations or friends: this will be ſeen in the following chapters.

M. *Duport de Tertre*, M. *de Leſſart*, and I, reſolved then to try this means of ſecuring the majority for the Conſtitutional party, and we went to work with the greateſt ſecrecy, not even making it known to the King. We choſe for our agent in this important negociation M. N——, an intelligent, diſcreet, and ſafe perſon, whom I had placed in my Department, and who had the advantage of being connected with the principal Members of the *Coté-droit*. They were highly pleaſed with our plan, but appeared at firſt diſinclined to take an active part in the execution of it, from the apprehenſion of being expoſed by ſome imprudence. When we had entirely removed their fears on that head, they undertook to

form their party themſelves, and to ſecure it ſoon a preponderance in the Aſſembly, without making uſe of any of the means of influence of which our negociator had only hinted the poſſibility. Theſe they rejected unanimouſly, and from motives truly laudable. "A coalition," ſaid they, "for the "ſole purpoſe of maintaining the ſworn "Conſtitution, is too legitimate and pure "to be ſullied with money. It will ſuffice "to render it very numerous, that we are "aſſured that the King and Miniſters are "ſincerely intereſted in its ſucceſs, and will "not counteract it by jarring meaſures. "The Republican party are certainly not "the moſt numerous in the Aſſembly, and "they rule there much leſs from their own "ſtrength, than from the advantage which "our want of unanimity gives them. We "are each of us for maintaining the Con-"ſtitution according to his own way, be-"cauſe we do not know in what way the "King would maintain it, or even that he "ſincerely wiſhes to maintain it. When "we know exactly what to depend upon in "that reſpect, the different ſhades of opi-"nion which weaken and divide us will "unite and become one, and we ſhall then

"have

"have a decided majority, which will daily "increaſe in power, in ſpite of the efforts "of the factious."

N—— obſerved to them, that to oppoſe the Jacobins with equal arms, it was requiſite to have, like them, a rallying point out of the Aſſembly, and of courſe a convenient place where they might meet and concert their meaſures; that the hire and furniture of a room, and the daily ſum that ſhould be employed to render the galleries neutral, would lead to expences which the new coalition were not in a ſtate to encounter, having no cheſt, as the Club of Jacobins had; that if theſe expences were to be paid by a ſubſcription, inſtead of out of the Civil Liſt, it was to be feared that ſeveral Deputies who were counted upon, might change their opinion, or grow cool. To theſe obſervations they replied, that as to the buſineſs of the galleries, it did not concern them, and they could have nothing to do with it; but that with reſpect to a place for them to meet in, they would aſk for, and flattered themſelves they ſhould obtain, the Hall of the Aſſembly itſelf, on the days when there was no Evening Sitting. The requeſt was really made, two or three days after this conference, by one of the moſt moderate of thoſe who

were to form the propoſed coalition, and created the moſt tumultuous altercations and debates, although the ſpeaker (*Mouyffet*) confined himſelf to ſaying very ſimply in a ſingle ſentence, "that three hundred Deputies, who were not employed in the Committees, wiſhing to have a place where they might meet and confer amicably on the ſituation of the different Departments of the kingdom, and on the ſubjects to be brought before the Aſſembly, he requeſted that it ſhould be decreed, that on all the days on which no Evening Sitting was held, the Hall ſhould be opened to the Deputies who wiſh to meet there."

The Jacobins perceiving in this project of meeting the elements of a formidable Club, whoſe power would ſoon ſurpaſs their own, oppoſed this requeſt of the three hundred Deputies with declamations replete with exaggerated ideas on the danger of the conſequences which might attend the granting it. "The Members of this meeting," ſaid they, "being all repreſentatives of the nation, and finding themſelves in this hall "more than ſufficient in number to deliberate as the Legiſlative body, might forget "that they were only conferring, might "ſend

" ſend for the Preſident, form themſelves " into the National Aſſembly, erect altar " againſt altar, &c."

It was in vain that the *Coté-droit* proteſted the purity of their intentions, and declared that their ſole object was to project the means of a fraternal union in the Legiſlative body, as no enemy whatever of the Conſtitution could ſhake it, were that union eſtabliſhed; and that the neceſſity of it was felt not only by the Aſſembly, but by the whole nation. Theſe declarations were brutally repulſed by continual cries of, *The order of the day, the previous queſtion*, and a multitude of different motions; received on the one ſide with great applauſe, and on the other with violent murmurs. A motion for decreeing that the Aſſembly ſhould ſit every day, morning and evening, having obtained a prior diſcuſſion, on a call of the votes, was immediately attacked, and various amendments propoſed, which were warmly ſupported; and eſpecially one, the purport of which was, that all the Members of the Aſſembly ſhould be forbidden to attend the Sittings of Clubs or popular meetings, on pain of cenſure, to be inſerted in the minutes. The motion for this amend-

ment occaſioned freſh wrangling, accompanied with abuſe and menaces, clamourouſly ſupported by the galleries. *Mouyſſet* put an end to this frightful uproar, by withdrawing his motion. Both parties ſeeing that they could not gain one point without loſing another, were eager to ſeize this opportunity to leave all the queſtions that had been agitated undetermined; both agreed to paſs to the order of the day, and the Sitting broke up.

Although the Conſtitutionaliſts no longer flattered themſelves that they ſhould be able to obtain the hall for their own meetings, they did not relinquiſh their plan of a coalition, and ſhowed much leſs diſinclination to accept aſſiſtance from the Civil Liſt, not only for the hire and furniture of a room, but for all the means of influence which might contribute and ſtrengthen their party. They had ſeveral conferences with N—— on this ſubject. When they had agreed on all the points, we determined to conſult the reſt of the Miniſters, for it was no longer poſſible to make a myſtery of this negociation to any of our colleagues, as they were all to concur in its ſucceſs, either by means of the unappropriated funds which they might

might diſpoſe of in their reſpective departments, or of the places which were in their gift.

We all dined on the 28th of February at M. *de Narbonne*'s with General *Luckner*, whom he had ſent for to Paris*. In the evening, when the General had left us, N—— came and gave us an account of the reſult of his conferences with the principal members of the propoſed coalition. After diſcuſſing their different propoſitions, we reſolved as follows:

1ſt, That according to the deſire of thoſe Gentlemen, they ſhould have no direct cor-

* He had gone on the 26th of February to pay his reſpects to the Aſſembly, and attempted to ſpeak, but could only utter a few ſentences in broken French, which could not be heard, from the weakneſs of his voice. M. *de Narbonne* was very fortunately preſent to be his ſpokeſman. "The Mareſchal aſſures you," ſaid he, "that is heart is more French than his tongue; and "I add, that it is eaſier for him to gain a battle than to "make a ſpeech." The Mareſchal was, however, the bearer at leaſt, if not the author, of a patriotic ſpeech very well written, which was alſo read by M. *de Narbonne*, that the Mareſchal's German accent might not weaken the beauty of it. This ſpeech, of which it was not impoſſible that the reader was the author, obtained a ſufficient doſe of applauſe, ſo that the General and the Miniſter might each take his ſhare.

reſpondence

reſpondence with the Miniſters, and only communicate with them by means of N——.

2dly, That in no caſe ſhould they be required to move or ſupport any motion contrary to the Conſtitution.

3dly, That on all other occaſions, when the King or his Council wiſhed to carry any meaſure in the Aſſembly, twenty-four hours previous notice ſhould be given to the members of the coalition by N——, who ſhould tranſmit their objections, if they had any, to the Miniſters, and carry back their anſwers.

4thly, That with reſpect to the means of influence which theſe Gentlemen wiſh not to be uſed but on the moſt urgent occaſions, the matter ſhould be entirely left to them, and that their demands, or the promiſes they ſhould make, ſhould never experience any impediment or delay.

To meet the expences of this plan, we had, 1ſt, the 1,500,000 livres appropriated to the uſe of the Department for Foreign Affairs, for ſecret ſervices, of which the Miniſter was not bound to give any account except to the King. 2dly, The unappropriated funds which ſome of the Miniſters had

had at their diſpoſal. 3dly, The aſſiſtance of the Civil Liſt.

The meeting broke up at ten o'clock at night, and we all agreed at parting to keep this negociation a profound ſecret. Unfortunately M. *de Narbonne* returning to the War Office, there found *Matthew de Montmorenci* and a Member of the Aſſembly, who were waiting for him. He had the imprudence to ſpeak to them of our meeting, and to inform them, at leaſt in ſubſtance, of what had paſſed at it, and the news ſoon reached the principal members of the coalition then in the Hall of the Aſſembly, who were ſtill ſitting. They were ſo alarmed and provoked at this haſty indiſcretion, that in order to avoid more ſerious hazards, they immediately reſolved to think no more of their coalition, and from that moment our negociation with them was broken off in ſuch a manner, as to render it impoſſible to reſume it.

M. *de Narbonne* at firſt attempted to make us believe that he had not been guilty of this breach of confidence, but being brought to confeſs it, on hearing the names of the perſons to whom he had revealed it, a warm

a warm altercation enſued*, and the newſpapers very ſoon informed the public that there were diſſenſions in the Council, thus giving notice to our enemies that it was the moment to attack us. They did not let it ſlip. Serious and falſe accuſations were renewed. M. *de Leſſart* was again denounced. The diſapprobation of my conduct, which was to have been made known to the King in a formal memorial, was revived. The memorial, when drawn up, was only a recapitulation of *Cavelier*'s different reports, which I had over and over again refuted; but ſuch as it was, it was preſented to the King by a deputation of twenty-four Deputies appointed by the Aſſembly.

M. *de Narbonne* had ſummoned the three Generals *Rochambeau*, *Luckner*, and *la Fayette*, to Paris, upon pretence of making them give an account of the ſtate of the armies, and of the plan of operations. They were introduced by M. *de Narbonne* into the Council on Friday the 2d of March, in ſpite of the repugnance which the King had to ſo unuſual a meaſure. Before the

* See my Private Memoirs, Vol. II. page 54.

Council

Council opened, his Majeſty aſked them ſeveral queſtions upon the ſtate of the armies. M. *de Rochambeau*, who was firſt interrogated, anſwered, "that his army was "in a very bad condition with reſpect both "to clothing and arms; and as for diſci-"pline, it was almoſt entirely overthrown, "and that it was out of his power, in the "preſent circumſtances, to re-eſtabliſh it; "of courſe, that with ſuch troops all mili-"tary operations muſt be of a defenſive "nature only."

General *Luckner* ſaw things in a more favourable point of view.

M. *de la Fayette* being interrogated in his turn, anſwered in a few words: he contradicted neither of his colleagues; and although their opinions were quite oppoſite, he contrived to accommodate what he ſaid to both: after which, the King imagining that they would immediately retire, ſeemed pleaſed with the thought, that the impropriety of their ſitting in the Council was thus avoided; but when he bowed, in expectation of their withdrawing, they requeſted his permiſſion to read a memorial, which appearing too long to be heard ſtanding,

ing,

ing, his Majeſty ſeated himſelf, and deſired the Generals to do the ſame.

The memorial was of little or no conſequence; and, when it was finiſhed, he told the Generals that he would conſider upon it, and they retired.

Next day M. *de Narbonne* did not appear at the meeting of the Miniſters, but his friend M. *de la Fayette* came in his place, and ſpoke much of the bad effect which the diſſenſions in the Miniſtry had on the public mind, and of the fatal conſequences they might produce to the King, &c. &c.

M. *de la Fayette* then mentioned me in particular as obnoxious to M. *de Narbonne*, inferring that it would be impoſſible for both of us to continue in the Miniſtry. This involved me in a diſpute firſt with M. *de la Fayette*, and afterwards with M. *de Narbonne*; but as it was chiefly perſonal, I ſhall not repeat it here, having already given a particular account of it in my Private Memoirs. The other Miniſters expoſtulated with him, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, but in vain. He reſiſted with the obſtinacy of a perſon who had a fixed plan, from which he was determined not to recede.

recede. This conduct of M. *de Narbonne* at firſt appeared inconſiſtent with the intention he had announced, of giving in his reſignation, but it became a little more intelligible three days after, by the extraordinary meaſure he adopted of publiſhing in the newſpapers three letters he had received from the Generals *Rochambeau*, *Luckner*, and *la Fayette*, with his anſwers.

Thoſe letters had been written at the requeſt of M. *de Narbonne* himſelf; they were all three to the ſame effect, and very nearly in the ſame words. The ſubſtance was as follows:

"That the report of his retreat gave them "the greateſt uneaſineſs: that it was his "duty to remain in Adminiſtration, as his "talents, activity, and reſources were ſo "uſeful to his country. That their confi- "dence in him, and the certitude of ob- "taining, through his diligence, all neceſ- "ſary ſuccour, had been their only motive "for retaining the command of the armies; "but that if he perſiſted in his determina- "tion to retire, they muſt give up a ſitua- "tion, the duties of which they would "no longer have the power properly to diſ- "charge."

M. *de*

M. *de Narbonne*'s anſwer was conceived in nearly the ſubſequent terms:

"It is true, my dear General, that the "difference of opinion which ſubſiſts be- "twixt M. *Bertrand* and me, reſpecting "the Conſtitution, had determined me to "give in my reſignation; but the value you "attach to my ſervices, and your earneſt "deſire for my continuance in Adminiſtra- "tion, make me conſider it as a duty to "remain as long as the King honours me "with his confidence."

The publication of theſe letters opened the eyes of the three Generals, who had probably written them unknown to each other; and each in the hope that his perſonal approbation would have ſufficient weight with the King, to fix M. *de Narbonne* in Adminiſtration. They now began to ſuſpect that he had ſummoned them to Paris, and loaded them with civilities, merely with a view to induce them to take this ſtep; which was the more remarkable, as at that time attempts were made to turn him into ridicule by numerous pamphlets and caricatures, in which he was diſtinguiſhed by the nick-name of *Miniſtre Linote*.

M. *de Narbonne* had flattered himſelf that

that the publication of this correſpondence would confirm his credit in the Aſſembly, and put the King under the neceſſity of retaining him in the Adminiſtration, leſt his retiring ſhould occaſion that of all the three Generals: but the event did not anſwer his expectation; for thoſe Gentlemen were ſo much offended at the publication of their letters, that they complained of it to his Majeſty, and retracted their declaration of having a deſign to retire upon his reſignation.

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Country — Maſſacre of the Mayor of Etampes—The Diſorder attributed to the Treachery of the Miniſters —Deputations from the Poiſſardes and Workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine —Official Note from the Cabinet of Vienna, dated February 17, communicated to the Aſſembly by M. de Leſſart, together with a private Letter from himſelf to M. de Noailles—M. de Leſſart ſtates the Emperor's Forces, and the King's Anſwer to the official Note—Conſequence of theſe Communications—Low Ebb of M. de Narbonne's Popularity—His Humiliation

miſſion in the Aſſembly—The Council reſolve not to act with him any more—M. Bertrand's Reſignation—The King diſmiſſes M. de Narbonne—The Faction exaſperated—Briſſot accuſes M. de Leſſart—The Articles of Impeachment againſt him moved by Briſſot—Another Article propoſed by Vergniaux—The Decree for Impeachment paſſed—Arrival of the News of the Death of the Emperor Leopold—M. de Leſſart's Letter to the Preſident of the Aſſembly, on ſurrendering himſelf—He is ſent to Orleans.

WHILE the feeble remains of the Royal authority were threatened with total annihilation by the inevitable diſſolution of the Miniſtry, by whom they were at this time ſupported, the dreadful progreſs of anarchy, of the deſpotiſm of the Jacobins, and of the outrageous delirium of the Aſſembly, daily aggravated the calamities of every kind which were deſolating France, and preparing for her ſtill greater misfortunes. The people, ſuffering at once the horrors of poverty, famine, and intenſe cold, and heeding no power but that created by their wants,

were everywhere plundering the granaries and convoys of corn, and procuring by robbery thoſe helps which they had formerly found in the humanity of the different claſſes of citizens whom the Revolution had ruined, or in the reſources, ever adequate, of a prudent, vigilant, and well-regulated Adminiſtration. The determination of the army to receive their pay no longer but in money, increaſed the ſcarcity of ſpecie, already very great, and diminiſhed the value of aſſignats. The National Guards of the Provinces, who were particularly deſigned to maintain order, and protect perſons and property, very rarely ſhowed an inclination to ſuppreſs popular commotions, and often ſided with the ſeditious. They even went ſo far at this period, as to put themſelves at the head of the populace of Marſeilles, to lead them to Aix with ſix field pieces, diſarm the Swiſs regiment of Erneſt in garriſon there, and force them to leave the town, where they had always conducted themſelves with the greateſt propriety. In the country about Paris, bands of armed ruffians went to all the market towns, where they fixed the price of corn and meal at what they pleaſed, and committed the moſt criminal

acts

acts of violence with impunity *. The worthy *Simoneau*, the Mayor of Etampes, a tanner by trade, a man beloved and reſpected by all the neighbourhood, loſt his life in attempting to ſupport the authority of the law againſt a mob from the neighbouring villages, aſſembled at the ſound of the alarm bell and drum, by fifteen ruffians armed with muſkets. The Municipality, with the Mayor at their head, repaired to the market place, eſcorted and ſurrounded by a detachment of eighty horſemen, for whom their commander had anſwered as for himſelf. As ſoon as they appeared, ſome aſſaſſins, making their way through the ranks, attacked the Mayor with clubs, and completed the murder by ſhooting him, without meeting the ſlighteſt reſiſtance from the ſoldiers, who all made off with the greateſt precipitation. More than twenty ſhots were fired on the dead body of the Mayor. The fifteen ruffians, remaining

* Theſe mobs, often headed by Mayors, town clerks, and municipal officers, arbitrarily fixed the price, and four times under the real value, not only of corn, but of every kind of merchandize. *See the Report made by the Miniſter of the Interior, in the Sittings of the 6th and 11th of March* 1792.

maſters of the place, made their troop file off at the ſound of the drum over his quivering and disfigured frame, and quietly marched away to a village about a mile from Etampes, where they got drunk, and diſplayed an abundance of aſſignats *. The Aſſembly, on being informed of theſe outrages, charged them not only to the inaction of Miniſters, but *to their treachery and counter-revolutionary plans*, and already manifeſted their deſign of uſurping and exerciſing the Executive Power.

" It is time that we ſhould know," ſaid one of the ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche* (*Guades*), " whether the Miniſters mean to " make *Louis* XVI. King of the French, " or King of Coblentz."—" Let us direct " the Committees of Legiſlation and In- " ſpection," added *Iſnard*, " to examine " whether the Miniſters have faithfully

* The Aſſembly decreed on the 18th of March, that a triangular pyramid ſhould be erected on the market place in Etampes, and that the following inſcriptions ſhould be engraved on the three ſides of it: 1ſt, *Simoneau*'s name and the day of his death; 2dly, his laſt words, " You may kill me, but I will not quit my poſt, " the law forbids me;" 3dly, the French nation to the Magiſtrate of the people, who died for the law.

" performed

" performed the taſk impoſed upon them by " the Conſtitution. If any one of them be " found guilty, let us make a great exam- " ple of him for the uſe of all perſons placed " in a public poſt." In this very Sitting, too, the Aſſembly laviſhed their plaudits and moſt pompous encomiums on deputations from two claſſes of individuals, who were conſtantly at the head of all the inſurrections in the Capital: one was from the poiſſardes of Paris, demanding arms of every kind, with permiſſion to form themſelves into a corps, under the command of one of the old French Guards, and impudently referring, among the number of their great patriotic deeds, and of their titles to the cenſure of tyrants and the protection of the Aſſembly, to the execrable days of the 5th and 6th of October 1789: the other was from the workmen of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, renewing the offer of their arms and pikes to complete the extermination of deſpotiſm, ariſtocrats, and conſpirators. " It is better," ſaid they, " to ſerve " nations than Kings; the latter are always " bad maſters, and deſpiſe their ſervants. " The ſpunge of ages may wipe the chap- " ter of Royalty from the book of the

" law. Yes, Gentlemen! Courtiers, Kings, " Miniſters, the Civil Liſt ſhall paſs away, " but the Rights of Man, the National So- " vereignty, and pikes, ſhall never paſs " away."

In this ſtate of tumult, diſorganization, and deficiency of the principal means of carrying on war, the factious were as wilful in provoking it, as the King and his Council were cautious and anxious to prevent it. The debates of the Aſſembly relative to the Princes poſſeſſed of territorial titles within the kingdom, were always replete with arrogance. They wanted to force them to receive the indemnity for their lands and vaſſalage in aſſignats, and it only remained to limit the time, after which they ſhould forfeit all indemnity, if they had not accepted that which was offered them; and motions to this effect were continually made by the ſpeakers of the *Coté-gauche*, in the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs. It was interrupted in the Sitting of the 1ſt of March by a communication made by M. *de Leſſart* to the Aſſembly, of an official note from the Miniſter of the Emperor, to his Ambaſſador at Paris, dated the 17th of February. To render this note clear, M. *de Leſſart* previouſly

previouſly read the following papers: 1ſt, the note ſent by Prince *Kaunitz* to M. *de Noailles*, the Ambaſſador of France, on the 21ſt of December 1791, containing the notice of the order given to Mareſchal *Bender* to aſſiſt the Elector of Treves, if he were attacked; 2dly, the note by which Prince *Kaunitz* notified to our Ambaſſador, that the leaſt invaſion of the territory of the Empire would be conſidered as a declaration of war; 3dly, a letter in which M. *de Leſſart* expreſſed to M. *de Noailles* the ſurpriſe that had been created in France by the order from the Emperor to Marcſchal *Bender*; and the ſentence in his note, where he talks of ſovereigns united to maintain the ſafety and honour of crowns. In this letter M. *de Noailles* was directed to aſk for an explanation of the note of the 21ſt of December, and what his Imperial Majeſty meant by *ſovereigns united to maintain the ſafety and honour of crowns* *.

* Appendix, No. XIII. This diſpatch is the more remarkable, as, notwithſtanding all the applauſe it obtained, it was a few days after made the principal grounds of the decree of impeachment which was paſſed againſt M. *de Leſſart*, on the motion of *Briſſot*.

M. *de*

M. *de Leſſart*, ſenſibly affected by the general applauſe which had often interrupted the reading of this diſpatch, aſſured the Aſſembly that it was not intended to be made public, that it had been communicated confidentially to the Miniſter of the Emperor, who, contrary to the uſual mode of proceeding, and by a kind of breach of confidence, had made uſe of it in ſuch a manner as to force it into public view. "But in ſhort," added he, "this diſpatch "contains my inmoſt thought, and would "to God that all I think could be as clearly "revealed! Then would no advantage be "taken, as is too often done, of the unfa-"vourable ſituation in which I am placed "by the nature of the buſineſs of my de-"partment, to point me out for ſuſpicions, "imputations, and reproaches, contrary to "juſtice, reaſon, and truth." This complaint excited great applauſe; and it could not be better timed, as at that very juncture M. *de Leſſart* was attacked with a croud of denunciations as unfounded as thoſe which he had before refuted.

The official note from the Cabinet of Vienna, of the 17th of February preceding, was

was then read. Prince *Kaunitz* replied, that reſpecting the order given to Mareſchal *Bender*, it was a precaution entirely defenſive; that the only object of it was to protect the Elector of Treves from invaſion; and that it was expreſſly on condition that the promiſe of the Elector of Treves to cauſe the ſame regulations to be enforced in his territories, which had been enforced in the Low Countries, relative to the Emigrants, ſhould be fulfilled. As to the union of the Powers, he replied, that nothing could be more juſt than the treaty by which the ſovereigns of Europe had declared, in the month of June, that they would eſpouſe the cauſe of the King of France, made a priſoner in his own kingdom; but that the moment he accepted the Conſtitution, the Emperor had written to the Powers, repreſenting that the new ſtate of things ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to the moderate party, and inviting them to ſuſpend the execution of their treaty. Prince *Kaunitz* then expatiated at great length on the aſcendency which the party called *Jacobins* were acquiring in France, on the influence they exerciſed over the Legiſlative Body, and on

on the danger of their Republican projects *.

The reading of this note, which was frequently interrupted, ſometimes by violent murmurs, and at others by the moſt inſolent burſts of laughter, being concluded, M. de *Leſſart* gave an account of the ſtate of the Emperor's military forces in the Low Countries. They amounted in the month of January to from fifty to fifty-five thouſand men at moſt; ſince which his Imperial Majeſty had commanded ſix thouſand men in the Briſgaw to march, at the ſame time informing the French Ambaſſador of it; and had alſo given orders in Bohemia for thirty thouſand men to march. M. *de Leſſart* further mentioned that the Ambaſſador of France was directed to declare to the Court of Vienna, that the King did not think it becoming the dignity or independence of the nation to enter upon a diſcuſſion of points which concerned only the interior ſituation of the kingdom; that his Majeſty having nevertheleſs obſerved, in the laſt official note from the Court of Vienna, the aſſurance given in the name of

* Appendix, No. XIV.

the

the Emperor, that far from ſupporting the projects or pretenſions of the Emigrants, he was deſirous of maintaining tranquillity, and convincing the French nation *how falſely he had been charged with deſigns againſt the independence and ſafety of France, by confederacy and alliances for the purpoſe of intermeddling in its government, and overturning or altering its Conſtitution;* laſtly, that the King, finding in the Emperor's anſwer pacific and friendly overtures, had eagerly laid hold of them; but that, as it was of conſequence that the anxieties which had been too long kept up ſhould ceaſe, his Majeſty declared, that confident of the love of the French nation, and of their attachment to the Conſtitution, he could not ſee without pain a confederacy for which there was no longer an object, and requeſted the Emperor to put an end to it, offering him, or rather repeating to him his aſſurance of union and peace, and requiring of him a ſimilar manifeſtation of his ſentiments and intentions, but requiring it promptly, frankly, and categorically. The Ambaſſador of France was alſo directed to declare, that as a pledge of mutual fidelity, the King promiſed that as ſoon as the Emperor

Emperor engaged to put a ſtop to all warlike preparations in his States, and to reduce his military eſtabliſhment in the Low Countries and in the Briſgaw, to what it was on the 1ſt of April 1791, his Majeſty would alſo ceaſe all preparations, and reduce the French troops in the Frontier Departments to the uſual complement for the garriſons; that it was in this determination, the only one ſuitable to the dignity of two great Powers and their reſpective intereſts, that the King ſhould recognize the ſentiments which he had a right to expect from his brother-in-law, and the ancient ally of France; but that after ſo fair and explicit an invitation, his Majeſty ſhould not be able to conſider an anſwer which did not bear the ſame marks, in any other light than as a wiſh to protract a ſituation, in which France neither could nor would longer remain.

The Aſſembly appeared fully to approve the King's conduct in reſpect to the Emperor, and expreſſed their ſatisfaction by reiterated plaudits, but it was not long before M. *de Leſſart* found that the imprudence of laying open to the Aſſembly and the Public, the moſt ſecret papers of a negociation not yet concluded, far over-balanced the honeſty of

of it. The Emperor's note was commented upon the next day, in all the Revolutionary Journals, in a manner the moſt calculated to exaſperate his Imperial Majeſty, and to render all conciliation impoſſible*. The very letter itſelf from M. *de Leſſart* to the Ambaſſador of France was denounced as an act of treaſon by the cabal who ſupported M. *de Narbonne*, and perfidy was traced in the very paſſages of the letter that had been moſt applauded by the Aſſembly.

With reſpect to M. *de Narbonne* the remains of the popularity which he continued to enjoy, and which he kept up by his attentions to the Aſſembly, and by frequent

* See *Le Patriote Français*, *la Chronique de Paris*, &c. of the 4th of March and the following days. In the *Moniteur*, in which it was ſpoken of with more moderation than in the other papers, there was nevertheleſs the following paſſage: "Let us content ourſelves for the preſent "with remarking that the Emperor's laſt note confirms "more and more the ſtrongeſt preſumption entertained "in France, that there is really an *Auſtrian Committee* at "Paris, and that for a long time *Leopold* has neither "thought, ſpoken, nor acted in reſpect to France, but "according to the operations of this fatal Committee: "and does his Imperial Majeſty in fact know of the "Revolution, any thing but the private vexations of the "Houſe of Bourbon?"

patriotic

patriotic ſpeeches in the Hall, were very feeble, and purchaſed with many mortifications. Of theſe we may form an idea, by that which he experienced on the 8th of March in the Evening Sitting, when he made the report relative to the troubles excited at Aix by the inſurgents of Marſeilles. " The public ſafety," he ſaid, " required that the diſorders which " were breaking out everywhere ſhould be " repreſſed. To this ſubject, I call the at- " tention of *the moſt diſtinguiſhed Members* " *of the Aſſembly* . . . ." At theſe words loud murmurs, and cries of, *to order*, came from every part of the Hall. He deſired to explain himſelf before he was called to order, but his being heard was oppoſed, and *No, no*, was repeated by ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly. However after a conſiderable agitation he was ſuffered to ſpeak. " I " was not underſtood," ſaid he; " God for- " bid I ſhould think that the Members of " the Aſſembly were not all equally diſtin- " guiſhed by their patriotiſm, and by the " purity of their intentions, but I meant to " ſpeak of the Members who had the moſt " influence, either from the confidence re- " poſed in them, or from their local know- " ledge." This explanation did not well

ſatisfy

ſatisfy the majority of the Aſſembly: the murmurs and agitation were renewed. Some called for the order of the day; others ſeconded the motion provided it were inſerted in the Minutes, that it was in conſequence of the penitent apology made by the Miniſter. When at the concluſion of the debate the Preſident pronounced that the Aſſembly were to paſs to the order of the day, the tumult recommenced, and ſeveral Members, ſupported by the clapping of the galleries, demanded the taking of the votes; the deciſion pronounced was nevertheleſs ſupported by a great majority, and the Miniſter continued his report.

While M. *de Narbonne* was experiencing this humiliation in the Aſſembly, the Miniſters, offended at his correſpondence with the three generals, and his having made it public, held a meeting to conſider what part they had to take reſpecting him. They firſt unanimouſly expreſſed the opinion that none of them would ſee M. *de Narbonne* again, and ſtill leſs ſit in council with him: that conſequently it was neceſſary that the King ſhould immediately determine between them and him. As M. *de Narbonne*'s diſgrace in conſequence of a quarrel, which ſeemed to

have ariſen from his zeal for the Conſtitution, might ſet the King and Council in an unfavourable light in the eyes of the public, we thought of every poſſible means of obviating this inconvenience, and my reſignation was conſidered as the moſt eligible: to this I conſented, on condition that it ſhould not be made public till the King had ſent an anſwer to the Memorial which the Aſſembly had drawn up againſt me. As to M. *de Narbonne*, the King conveyed his determination to him in theſe words: "Sir, I "inform you that I have appointed M. *de* "*Grave* to the War Department; you will "therefore give him poſſeſſion of the papers "belonging to the office*."

The news of M. *de Narbonne's* diſmiſſion was received at the Aſſembly before my reſignation was known, having unfortunately been ſent too late to the editor of the Paris Journal for inſertion that day. There wanted no more to exaſperate the Briſſotins, Girondiſts, and all the *Coté-gauche*: but before they ventured upon any motion on the ſub-

* I have given a more circumſtantial account of the circumſtances attending my reſignation, in the Private Memoirs. See vol. II. p. 77.

ject,

ject, they judged it beſt to wait for ampler information reſpecting the motives and circumſtances of a diſgrace ſo ſudden and ſo unexpected.

On the next day (March 10th), on the opening of the Sitting, *Briſſot* informed the Aſſembly that the Diplomatic Committee, to whom the Emperor's note, and M. *de Leſſart*'s confidential letter had been referred for examination, were divided in opinion upon them; that they appeared determined to drop the denunciation made againſt the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs; and that the buſineſs of the Reporter (Mr. *Kooch*) reſpecting the Emperor's note, and the ſtate of the negociation with him was not yet begun, although the Emperor was on the point of ſending ten thouſand men more into Brabant. "We are ſurrounded," ſaid he, "with ma-"levolence and perfidy—For my part, I "look on M. *de Leſſart* as a traitor, and "demand an opportunity to prove it."

A Member of the Diplomatic Committee corrected the inaccuracy of *Briſſot*'s account, and obſerved that the Committee, who had already for four Sittings been employed on the Emperor's note, had ſeparated from it the denunciations againſt M. *de Leſſart*,

only for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the two ſubjects more thoroughly, both being ſo important as to require mature examination.

Here the Aſſembly received the King's anſwer to the obſervations which they had ſent to him againſt me, and the letter by which his Majeſty announced the appointment of M. *de Grave* to M. *de Narbonne*'s office.

It was at firſt propoſed to declare, that M. *de Narbonne* carried with him the regrets of the Aſſembly, but it was conſidered to be more regular to wait till he had given in his accounts. The purport of the next motion was, the declaring that all the Miniſtry had loſt the confidence of the Nation, and the only exception agreed to was of M. *Cahier de Gerville*. The more violent of the faction conſidering this as too feeble a meaſure, inſiſted that we ſhould all be impeached, and in conſequence moved that a report ſhould be immediately made of all the denunciations ſtanding againſt us. "Of what uſe would "it be," it was ſaid, "to declare that the "ſyſtem adopted by the Miniſters does not "appear to merit the National confidence? "Intrigues ſuch as ſaved the Miniſter *Ber-* "*trand* would ſtill elude your decree." At length,

length, after much debating in the ſame tone, it was decreed that the report mentioned by *Briſſot* againſt *de Leſſart*, ſhould be immediately made, although it had neither been diſcuſſed nor communicated to the Diplomatic Committee, to whom all the denunciations againſt that Miniſter had been referred, and although *Briſſot*, who was a Member of that Committee, had not been appointed Reporter of the buſineſs.

Previous to entering upon the diſcuſſions of the papers referred to the Committee relative to our negociations with the court of Vienna, *Briſſot* brought to mind, and repreſented as artfully as perfidiouſly, the principal facts that had preceded them. He endeavoured to prove that the conduct to be purſued in every circumſtance was ſo ſimple, and ſo clearly marked out, that, without treachery or extreme imbecility, no other could be adopted. He then maintained, as an indiſputable principle, that the reſponſibility of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, was very different from that of his Colleagues, inaſmuch as it can be very rarely enforced againſt him on poſitive and ſubſtantial proofs; that they ought not to be confined to diſcuſſing whether he had infringed or had executed the laws, but ſhould

principally enquire whether he had betrayed, or had neglected the national intereſt; that the more the different modes of viewing that intereſt and eſtimating political meaſures rendered the reſponſibility different to be examined, the ſtricter ſhould it be, whether on account of the great confidence which the nature of things made it neceſſary to grant to the Miniſter, or on account of the reſources of impunity with which he was provided by his double correſpondence, one oſtenſible, and another ſecret, and the power he had of communicating only what he pleaſed of them: "In ſuch a Miniſter," ſaid he, "even in-"capacity becomes a crime; for to perſiſt "in holding the helm in a ſtorm, without "the ſtrength, ſkill, and courage neceſſary, "is to run a riſk of murdering his brothers, "whom an abler man might ſave."

Having thus diſpoſed the Aſſembly not to be too difficult as to the proofs of incapacity or of high treaſon, and to puniſh both equally ſevere, *Briſſot*, continuing upon and interpreting in his own way the proceedings and meſſages of the King, M. *de Leſſart*'s diſpatches, his ſpeeches to the Diplomatic Committee, and even his ſilence, produced from them the ten articles of impeachment,

peachment, detailed in the decree which he moved in the following terms:

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering "that the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs "has neglected his duties, and betrayed "the Nation;

"1ſt, In not making known to the "Aſſembly all the papers tending to "prove the exiſtence of a confederacy of "Foreign Powers, againſt the Sovereignty "and independence of the French Na- "tion*;

"2dly, In not preſſing the meaſures "proper for ſecuring the ſafety of "France†;

"3dly,

* Theſe papers were the circular notes of the 1ſt of July, and 1ſt of Nov. 1791, the Treaty of Pilnitz, &c. M. *de Leſſart*, neither did nor could know any thing of theſe different papers but through the public papers, for they had never been communicated to him officially: thus, his crime reſpecting theſe papers was reduced to not having communicated officially to the Aſſembly, the public papers which contained them, and which they knew as well as he!

† M. *de Leſſart* had no concern with the military meaſures. As to the diplomatic meaſures, he was reproached with having, by the ſlowneſs of the negociations for preſerving peace, cooled the ardour of the

" 3dly, In delaying till the 1ſt of March " to give notice to the Aſſembly of the " Emperor's note, dated the 5th of Ja- " nuary*;

" 4thly, In not having, in his anſwer to " that note, required any declaration rela- " tive to the exiſtence of the confederacy of " the Powers, and having, on the con- " trary, affected to doubt it†;

" 5thly,

French nation, who were impatient to attack their enemies, and revenge themſelves for the inſults they had received; and with having loſt to France the advantage of a ſudden and unforeſeen invaſion, by which the Emperor would have ſuſtained irreparable loſſes!

* M. *de Leſſart* communicated this note to the Aſſembly as ſoon as he thought it of any uſe to make it known to them. He might even have omitted the communication altogether without violating the Conſtitution, which had delegated to the King alone the power of maintaining political relations abroad, of conducting negociations, &c. (*Chap.* 4, *Section* 3, *Article* 1.) Beſides, the ſole object of the note of the 5th of January was to announce, that the flight of invation of the territory of the Empire would be conſidered by the Emperor as a declaration of war.

† Was not this diplomatic form of treating an injury, which was founded merely on the authority of ſome

" 5thly. In giving to M. *de Kaunitz*, in " a letter which had been communicated to " him confidentially by M. *de Noailles*, " ſuch an account of the ſituation of the " kingdom as was proper to raiſe the moſt " unfavourable idea of it*;

" 6thly, In having in the ſame letter pro- " feſſed an unconſtitutional and dangerous " doctrine;

" 7thly, In having baſely aſked for peace;

" 8thly, In having deſignedly protracted " the negociations to ſuch a length, that " we are on the 10th of March but where " we were on the 31ſt of December " 1791†;

" 9thly,

ſome newſpapers, the only ſuitable one, and one far more proper, than imperious demands for obtaining from the Emperor the friendly declarations which he made at that time?

* The ſhocking injuſtice of this charge, and of the two following ones is ſufficiently proved by M. *de Leſſart*'s letter, and he might with much more truth have been cenſured for attempting, in that letter, to give far too advantageous a notion of the ſtate and reſources of France. See Appendix, No. XV.

† The number of the papers of this negociation and

"9thly, In having neglected the intereſts "of the nation, or betrayed them to the "foreign Powers*;

"10thly, In having refuſed to obey the "decrees of the National Aſſembly†; DE-"CREE that there are grounds for an im-"peachment of M. *de Leſſart.*"

No ſooner was this plan for a decree read through, than the majority of the Aſſembly called for its being put to the vote. Some Members, more moderate, deſired, but in vain, that M. *de Leſſart* ſhould be heard, and that *Briſſot*'s report ſhould be referred to the Diplomatic Committee, who had declared that they had no knowledge of it. Others, with as little ſucceſs, obſerved, that as the letter addreſſed to M. *de Noailles* was the principal grounds of the propoſed impeachment, it would be but prudent to aſcertain whether the Aſſembly, who, eight

and their contents, ſhow that it was impoſſible to have carried it on more expeditiouſly.

* *Briſſot*, in his report, applied this charge to the paſſages of M. *de Leſſart*'s letter, which had been moſt applauded by the Aſſembly.

† He did not cite a ſingle decree which M. *de Leſſart* had refuſed to obey.

days

days before, had frequently interrupted the reading of that letter by their applauſe, were really in the wrong for applauding it; and whether they would be more juſt in condemning M. *de Leſſart*, although the Members of the Diplomatic Committee, to whom the inveſtigation of the buſineſs had been ſubmitted, declared that they had not been able to obtain any proof againſt him. Theſe motions were got rid of by loud murmurs and furious ſhouts. Amidſt the tumult, *Vergniaux* addreſſed the Aſſembly, and propoſed another article of impeachment againſt M. *de Leſſart*, as unfounded as thoſe that had been preſented by *Briſſot*. "It is no longer me that you hear," ſaid he, "but a plaintive voice iſſuing from "the awful *Glacier* of Avignon. It calls "to you thus:—'The decree for the union 'of the Comtat with France was paſſed in 'the month of September laſt; had it been 'ſent to us immediately, perhaps it would 'have brought peace to us, put an end to 'our fatal diviſions, and made us all bro-'thers; perhaps we ſhould not have been 'the victims of a horrible maſſacre, nor 'our land diſgraced by the blackeſt of 'crimes; but M. *de Leſſart*, then Miniſ-

'ter

'ter of the Interior, kept that decree in his 'portfolio for more than two months, in 'which interval our diſſentions continued, 'in which interval new crimes polluted our 'deplorable country. Our blood, our mu-'tilated bodies call for vengeance on your 'Miniſter*.'.

"When it was propoſed to the Con-"ſtituent Aſſembly," continued *Vergniaux*, "to decree the deſpotiſm of the Chriſtian re-"ligion, *Mirabeau* made uſe of theſe words: "*From this tribune whence I addreſs you, "we ſee the window out of which the hand "of a French Monarch, who was armed "againſt his ſubjects by execrable intrigues, "who blended private intereſts with the "ſacred intereſts of religion, fired the "piſtol which gave the ſignal on St. Bar-"tholemew's day;* and I alſo tell you, that

* This very charge had been made ſome months before in a leſs flowery ſtyle againſt M. *de Leſſart*, who had completely juſtified himſelf by proving, by the date of the ſanction of the decree in queſtion, and the time of ſending it off, that it had been diſpatched as ſpeedily as poſſible: but what avails it to have juſtice, truth, and innocence in one's favour, before a tribunal where villains have the majority, and are at once accuſers and judges?

"from

" from this tribune whence I addreſs you,
" we ſee the Palace in which wicked coun-
" ſellors are miſleading and deceiving the
" King, whom the Conſtitution has given
" to us, forging fetters with which they
" want to chain us, and deviſing ſchemes
" for delivering us up to the Houſe of
" Auſtria. I ſee the windows of the Palace
" where they are plotting the Counter-
" revolution, where they are combining the
" means of plunging us again into the
" horrors of ſlavery, through all the diſ-
" orders of anarchy and the horrors of
" civil war. The day is come when
" you may put a ſtop to ſuch audacity, to
" ſuch inſolence, and confound at length
" the conſpirators. In times of old, and
" in the name of deſpotiſm, alarm and
" terror have often iſſued from that famous
" Palace: now let them enter into it in the
" name of the law, let them there penetrate
" every heart; let all who dwell in it know
" that our Conſtitution grants inviolability
" only to the King; let them know that
" the law will reach all criminals there
" without diſtinction, and that not a ſingle
" head convicted of guilt can eſcape its
" ſword.

" ſword. I move that the decree of im-
" peachment be put to the vote."

The Aſſembly and galleries applauded theſe impoſtures, menaces, and Revolutionary boaſtings, with the moſt ferocious tranſports of joy. The debate was cloſed, the decree of impeachment put to the vote, and carried by a great majority. The Executive Power was called upon to give the neceſſary orders for impeaching M. *de Leſſart*, and putting ſeals upon all his papers. The Aſſembly having ſat till ſix o'clock in the evening, I was ignorant of the reſult of it when I went to the Council. I was informed of it by the King himſelf, who was extremely affected at it. He was accuſtomed to M. *de Leſſart*, and repoſed in him that degree of confidence which his zeal, attachment, and fidelity deſerved. To complete the vexations experienced by his Majeſty, a courier arrived from Vienna, who brought him the news of the death of the Emperor *Leopold*.

M. *de Leſſart* left his houſe the moment the decree of accuſation was paſſed, and took ſhelter at a friend's, in order to ſecure himſelf from the violence which a miſguided

populace

populace might have uſed againſt him; but, at two o'clock in the morning, he wrote to the Directory of the Department, informing them of the place of his retreat, and that he was ready to ſubmit to the decree of impeachment. At the ſame time, he wrote the following letter to the Preſident of the Aſſembly:

" Mr. Preſident,

" At the moment of my departure for " Orleans, I may doubtleſs be permit- " ted to complain that the Aſſembly, " without hearing me, or receiving any " explanation on my part, ſhould have " paſſed the moſt dreadful decree againſt " me, and that, while it was ſo eaſy to " aſcertain my innocence on a hearing, they " ſhould prefer accuſing me in the face of " all Europe, as guilty of treaſon againſt " my country. Supported by my conſcience, " I do not fear the ſentence to which I am " about to ſubmit. I ſhall prove that my " conduct has been invariably the conſe- " quence of a perfect ſubmiſſion to the " law, and an unalterable love of the Con- " ſtitution. I ſhall confound falſhood and " calumny; but I ſhall ever regret, both as

" a Miniſter

" a Miniſter and as a citizen, that the Aſ-
" ſembly did not chooſe to give me the
" ſatisfaction of obtaining from them the
" juſtice I expect from the Court before
" which I am to appear."

The next morning the Aſſembly heard this letter read without the leaſt emotion, and coldly paſſed to the order of the day; while M. *de Leſſart* was carried poſt to Orleans, guarded by two officers and ſix horſemen of the National Gendarmerie*. After being confined for more than ſix months in the priſons of the National Supreme Court without being able to obtain a trial, he was removed to Verſailles in the beginning of the month of September following by a detachment of the Brigands of Paris, and maſſacred by them with all the other priſoners confined at Orleans on decrees of impeachment.

* See M. *de Leſſart*'s examination before the National Supreme Court. Appendix. No. XVI.

NOTES.

NOTES.

A. (See page 5 of this Volume.)

Note relative to M. Bertrand's Appointment in the Miniſtry.

ON the 25th of September, the office of Miniſter of the Marine was, by the King's deſire, again propoſed to me by M. *de Montmorin*, in terms ſo preſſing, that I was at firſt both ſurpriſed and embarraſſed. However, as the events which had taken place, after my firſt declining it, had ſtrengthened the reaſons on which I had acted, I entreated M. *de Montmorin*, as the greateſt proof of friendſhip he could give me, to do all in his power to prevail upon his Majeſty to think of ſome other perſon. "I ſhall give your anſwer "to the King," ſaid he, "but I have no idea that "I ſhall ſucceed in diverting him from his inten-

" tion of appointing you; he has ſet his mind
" upon it more than you imagine, and I even
" foretel that you will receive a letter from him-
" ſelf on the ſubject. Conſider upon it."

When I returned home, I reflected very ſeriouſly on the different reaſons that ought to guide me in a determination the moſt important of my life, for it might endanger, not only my fortune and quiet, but my reputation, my perſonal ſafety, and the ſafety of my family.

It had ever been a principle with me to accept no place, to the duties of which I was unequal; the ſimpleſt is always honourable to him who fills it well, while the moſt eminent degrades the man whoſe talents are inferior to it; and I ſhall not deny that I was very far from believing myſelf capable at this period of filling any place whatever in the Miniſtry. Beſides, could it be agreeable to me to enter into it, when I ſaw perſons of my own ſituation in life, whoſe talents and experience in adminiſtration were ſuited to its duties, ſhunning it; and, when it was an honour no longer ſought but by people whom, in other times, the nature of their profeſſion, the obſcurity of their exiſtence, or the deficiency of their talents, would never have ſuffered to think of it?

Was I not alſo to expect that in a Council almoſt wholly compoſed of Miniſters attached, at leaſt by gratitude, to an order of things, to which alone they were indebted for their places, the vigorous

vigorous meaſures neceſſary to raiſe the King's authority, which they had ſuffered to ſink, would always be rejected, and feeble ſteps always conſidered as the wiſeſt? that, of courſe, my zeal, my ſacrifices, and all my efforts would ſerve but to render me the powerleſs witneſs of the public misfortunes, till the impoſſibility of ſupporting ſo painful a ſtate of nullity ſhould force me to reſign; fortunate even then if I ſhould be able to quit the Council with ſufficient honour to caſt a veil over the inſignificant part I had played in it? In ſhort, when a ſtrict adherence to truth compels me to diſcloſe my mind, I muſt confeſs that I was extremely unwilling to run the riſk of my family ſeeing the Miniſtry, which, in happier times, had been their great pride, become in me a ſubject of humiliation to them.

Theſe reaſons were oppoſed by powerful conſiderations. It appeared to me, that the more the chief offices were declined through the fear of danger and the deſpair of ſucceſs, the nobler and the braver it was to accept this dreaded honour, to ſerve a deſerted Monarch, and I could not eaſily baniſh from my mind the idea of ſetting a great example of fidelity.

I conſidered too that at this diſaſtrous moment, the Department of the Marine offered a taſk as honourable in the attempt as important in its ſucceſs, that of ſcreening from Revolutionary outrages that faithful claſs of officers ſo invaluable

to the State, and ſo difficult to be replaced, that reſpectable body of the Marine, in which there had not been, at any period ſince its inſtitution, ſo great a number of men diſtinguiſhed by their talents, courage, knowledge, and virtues. My feelings were called upon by a greater object ſtill, the ſafety of the State. The Monarchy was giving way, and the moſt daring paſſions, naturally adhering to the new ſyſtems which they had engendered, had, by the means of crimes, ſucceeded in raiſing, on the ruins of the old Government, that monſtrous Conſtitution which the King had been compelled to accept. A Conſtitution, however, which it was no longer poſſible, and which it would have been even imprudent to attack by means of force, becauſe the enthuſiaſm of novelty was ſtill in its favour. Subtle interpretations, ſecret diſparagements, intrigue, and fineſſe, were unworthy of the King, and repugnant to the feelings of a man of honour. The moſt direct, ſincere, and beſt way in every reſpect was, to put this Conſtitution to a teſt, which no bad law ever ſtood, a preciſe and literal execution of it. I did not doubt that when the nation at large ſhould be thus taught by their own experience, they would abjure this code of Anarchial Democracy with ſtill more ardour than they had adopted it. But it was neceſſary to look forward to that criſis, and to prepare for it, by immediately inveſting the Council with the dignity

dignity that belonged to it, and by conſtantly ſhowing the King in a ſtate ſo reſpectable and commanding, that at the moment of the event's taking place, his authority, freed from the fetters of a devoted ſyſtem, ſhould appear ſtill entire, ſtill powerful enough to re-eſtabliſh with the Monarchy, order, peace, and happineſs.

It was alſo, doubtleſs, a ſervice of great importance to ſhow, that in the moſt difficult times, with a candid conduct and pure intentions, a King might always preſerve his power, or recover it by great energy in his reſolutions, and great firmneſs in executing them. It was, at leaſt, an experiment worth trying, for, whatever the iſſue of it might be, it would at all events have pointed out the path to be purſued; and I flattered myſelf, that if I ſucceeded in fixing the Council in this opinion, were I but a day in adminiſtration, I ſhould have done enough to ſecure an honourable retreat.

Theſe ideas might have had a full effect upon me, had I not conſidered that, as I was not perſonally known to the King, and could not hope for ſome time to obtain his entire confidence, I ſhould imprudently expoſe myſelf by accepting the place of a Miniſter, to the ſhame of neither doing any good or preventing any ill in the Adminiſtration, to a reſponſibility in the eyes of the Public for the errors I had to combat, and to a retreat, attended only with regret, for

having ſacrificed my peace and my reputation uſeleſsly to the King and the State; the final reſult, therefore, of my reflections was, a firm reſolution to decline an appointment in the Miniſtry.

Two days after, the King wrote me a letter with his own hand, in which his Majeſty enforced what had been ſaid by M. *de Montmorin*, and concluded with the following expreſſion: "In a "word, I am confident that your ſervices will be "very uſeful to me and to the State: I know "your attachment to me, and I expect that you "will, on the preſent occaſion, give me this "proof of your zeal and obedience."

In my reply to this letter, I perſevered in declining a part in the Adminiſtration, pleading an additional motive, on which I principally dwelt; and that was the prejudice, unjuſt, doubtleſs, but ſtill great, which exiſted againſt all the old Intendants of the Provinces, and from which, whatever were my conduct, I ſhould be ſuſpected of being an enemy to the new ſyſtem,

* The King, after reading my letter, ſaid to M. *de Montmorin*, who had delivered it to him, "But aſk M. *Bertrand*, then, where I am to look "for Miniſters, if perſons who profeſs, as he "does, to be attached to me, deny me their "ſervices, and deſert me?" I was extremely affected with this piercing reproach; the very idea that the King could think me capable of deſerting

deſerting him, inſtantly made all my objections vaniſh, and I was completely converted by M. *de Montmorin*'s aſſurances, that I might rely on his Majeſty's confidence, that in a few days there were to be great changes in the Council, and that I ſhould be very well ſatisfied with the new Miniſters. I thought that at this violent criſis, when the lives of the Royal Family themſelves might be expoſed to the greateſt danger, a faithful and courageous ſervant might be more uſeful to the King than an able Miniſter of the Marine, and, being conſcious of a fidelity that would not ſuffer me to fail in courage, I devoted myſelf to his ſervice. I requeſted M. *de Montmorin* to inform his Majeſty that I was at his command, and only begged that he would grant me a ſhort audience before he made my appointment public.

Let thoſe who have cenſured me for accepting an office in the Adminiſtration under the New Conſtitution, thoſe who can have ſuſpected me of ambitious views, or of the ſlighteſt connection with the party of the Conſtitutionaliſts, conſider what my ſituation was; let them examine, without prejudice, what my conduct has been, let them weigh my motives, and then let him who really thinks himſelf more purely a Royaliſt than I, throw the firſt ſtone at me.

B. (See page 143 of this Volume.)

Note relative to the Baron de Breteuil.

THE Baron *de Breteuil* took his leave at Verſailles, and quitted the kingdom at the period of Mr. *Necker's* recall, in the month of July 1789. The King authoriſed him by the moſt ample and honourable powers to treat with the foreign Courts, and to propoſe to them, in the name of his Majeſty, whatever he might judge uſeful for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Royal Authority, and order in the kingdom. He alſo received a conſiderable ſum to provide for the expences that might be incurred in the important negociation with which he was charged. It was carried on with ſufficient ſecrecy, ſo that no idea of it tranſpired; but, unfortunately, it was attended with no advantage to the King, whoſe ſituation became

came daily more critical. It appears certain, that the Emperor was of opinion, that while the King remained at Paris, it was impoſſible that the foreign Powers could manifeſt an intention of aſſiſting him without increaſing his danger. This, no doubt, induced the Baron *de Breteuil* to propoſe to the King the plan of going to Montmedi. We have ſeen how fatal the conſequences of it were. It would, however, be unjuſt to judge of this plan by its deplorable iſſue, for it was not from any of the obſtacles that were to be expected that it failed, but by numberleſs imprudences and errors that might have been eaſily avoided, and which, conſequently, the Baron *de Breteuil* could not foreſee. The perſons whom it had been neceſſary to truſt with this plan, although arreſted ſo ſoon as the month of October 1790, were ſo careful of the ſecret, that nothing of it tranſpired till the moment of its execution. The foreign Powers, whom the Baron *de Breteuil* was to have diſpoſed to ſecond the King's meaſures after he had quitted Paris, did not know the period fixed for the departure of the Royal Family, or the place to which they were to go. They were only informed in the month of December 1790, by the King's private letters, that the Baron *de Breteuil* alone was acquainted with his Majeſty's plans, and that to him alone they were to apply for intelligence. The Emperor himſelf, in the month of May 1791, was left to conjecture reſpecting

ſpecting the plan of the King's departure, and thought from what the Count *de Merci* had told him, that his Majeſty was to take the road to Metz.

When the King ſet out for Montmedi, it was his intention to give MONSIEUR the ſame powers which he had given him in the month of July 1789, when his Majeſty was obliged to go to the *Hotel-de-Ville* of Paris. Thoſe powers, written with his own hand, appointed MONSIEUR Lieutenant General of the kingdom, and deputed the government of it to him in the caſe of his Majeſty being unable to exerciſe it. From the hurry of preparing for the journey, the King, not having time, or forgetting to commit the powers to writing, his Majeſty, on his arrival at Bondé, expreſsly charged the Count *de Ferſen* to inform MONSIEUR that he gave him the ſame powers which he had done in the month of July 1789, and that he would ſend the delegation to him in writing as ſoon as he could. The Count *de Ferſen* executed this commiſſion at Bruſſels, whither he went to MONSIEUR immediately after the King was arreſted at Varennes. Thoſe new powers, dated the 7th of July 1791, were received a few days after by his Royal Highneſs, who wrote in conſequence to the Baron *de Breteuil* on the 20th of the ſame month, to inform him that " the expreſs intention of the King " being that his brothers ſhould conjointly, in " the

" the name of his Majeſty, do every thing at
" the foreign Courts that could be of uſe to the
" re-eſtabliſhment of his liberty, and the good of
" the State, he was to conſider the powers he
" had received formerly as revoked, and to act
" in future only as he ſhould be directed by the
" Princes."

The Baron *de Breteuil*, in his anſwer to this letter, ſaid that he ſhould immediately attend upon their Royal Highneſſes, and conform himſelf to their views. He did, in fact, meet the Princes at Bonn, during their ſtay with the Elector in that town in their way from Bruſſels to Coblentz, and acknowledged, without heſitation, that his powers were revoked, but begged of MONSIEUR to let him keep the writing which contained them, as he conſidered it as the moſt honourable recompence for his long ſervice, and the moſt precious family record, giving his word of honour not to make any uſe of it, and not to interfere in any manner in the affairs of France, or in thoſe of the Princes, but as their Royal Highneſſes ſhould deſire, and in conformity to the orders they might think proper to give him. MONSIEUR had the goodneſs to grant him this favour, without taking the precaution of expreſſing the motives and conditions of it, which ſhould have been done by a note written at the bottom of the Baron *de Breteuil*'s powers. His Royal Highneſs alſo omitted announcing their revocation

revocation to the different Courts; ſo that the Baron *de Breteuil*, not receiving afterwards any letter from the King mentioning this revocation to him, might think that it was only to be temporary, and that he might afterwards continue to make uſe of his powers; at leaſt, ſuch might his opinion be preſumed to be from his conduct. Be that as it may, the Baron *de Breteuil* was perſonally informed of the King's wiſhes in the month of October 1791, by the Baron *de Viomenil*, whom his Majeſty had ſent to Coblentz at that time to make known to the Princes the motives and circumſtances which had forced him to accept the New Conſtitution, and to acquaint them with his firm reſolution of cauſing it to be faithfully executed, in order that the nation, who were in raptures with it, might be enabled to judge of it by its effects.

As war could not but impede the ſucceſs of this trial, the Baron *de Viomenil* was expreſsly charged by the King to recommend to the Princes to do every thing they could to prevent any act of hoſtility, either on the part of the Emigrants, or of the foreign Powers; and, as the Baron *de Breteuil* had been in correſpondence with them by virtue of the powers with which he had been inveſted, his Majeſty thought that his means of information and correſpondence in the different Courts of Europe might be uſeful to the Princes, and therefore deſired them to employ him, and

to

to concert their proceedings with him, binding him, nevertheleſs, to take no ſtep without their concurrence, and to keep up a communication with them in all particulars through the Mareſchal *de Caſtries**. The Princes conſented to this: the Baron *de Breteuil* received the expreſs order from M. *de Viomenil*, and promiſed to conform to it. He began, notwithſtanding, almoſt immediately to correſpond in the name of the King, as if he had had new powers, and without communicating it to the Princes. About the end of December 1791, he ſent, unknown to their Royal Highneſſes, the Viſcount *de Caraman* to Berlin, and the Baron *de Bombelles* to Peterſburg.

A miſtake made in the account of this fact † by the tranſlator of the Private Memoirs, which I publiſhed

* The King mentioned the Mareſchal *de Caſtries* becauſe the Baron *de Breteuil*, being on no terms with M. *de Calonne*, who then poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the Princes, would never have conſented that he ſhould be the channel of his communications with their Royal Highneſſes. The difference between theſe two Miniſters contributed too much to the Revolution, to allow the origin of their fatal quarrel to be left to oblivion, or to be conſidered as foreign to the ſubject of theſe Annals, but I have thrown the details, of which I was informed at the time by M. *de Montmorin*, and which M. *de Calonne* has ſince confirmed, into a note.

† The miſtake was, that the Tranſlator added of his own accord to the ſentence relative to the miſſion of the Viſcount *de Caraman*

of

publiſhed in Engliſh in the month of March 1797, gave occaſion to ſome animadverſions from M. *de Bombelles*, which throw a great light on the Baron *de Breteuil*'s conduct at that important period. From them I learned, 1ſt, that when the Baron ſent M. *de Bombelles* to Peterſburg, he gave him authentic copies, not of the letters with which he entruſted him, but of thoſe which *Louis* XVI. wrote to the King of Spain and the King of Pruſſia; 2dly, that that to the King of Pruſſia *(Frederic William)* contained the following expreſſion:—"Your Majeſty will eaſily conceive "that the circumſtances in which I am placed "oblige me to uſe the greateſt circumſpection; "for which reaſon, *no perſon but the Baron* de "Breteuil *is acquainted with my plans*, and your "Majeſty may tranſmit to him whatever you "pleaſe;" 3dly, that in the letter to the King of Spain, *Louis* XVI. ſaid alſo, "I have in-"formed the Baron *de Breteuil* of all my plans, "and I commiſſion him to purſue with your "Majeſty all the particulars concerning them;" 4thly, that the copies of theſe authentic letters by the Baron *de Breteuil*, which were put into the

de Caraman and the Baron *de Bombelles* to Berlin and Peterſburg, that they ſet out *after the fatal day* of the 10th of Auguſt 1792. I had ſaid, on the contrary, in the original work, that the Baron *de Breteuil* had given them this miſſion almoſt immediately after the departure of the Baron *de Viomenil*, which places it in the end of the year 1791.

hands

hands of M. *de Bombelles*, are dated the 3d of December 1791.

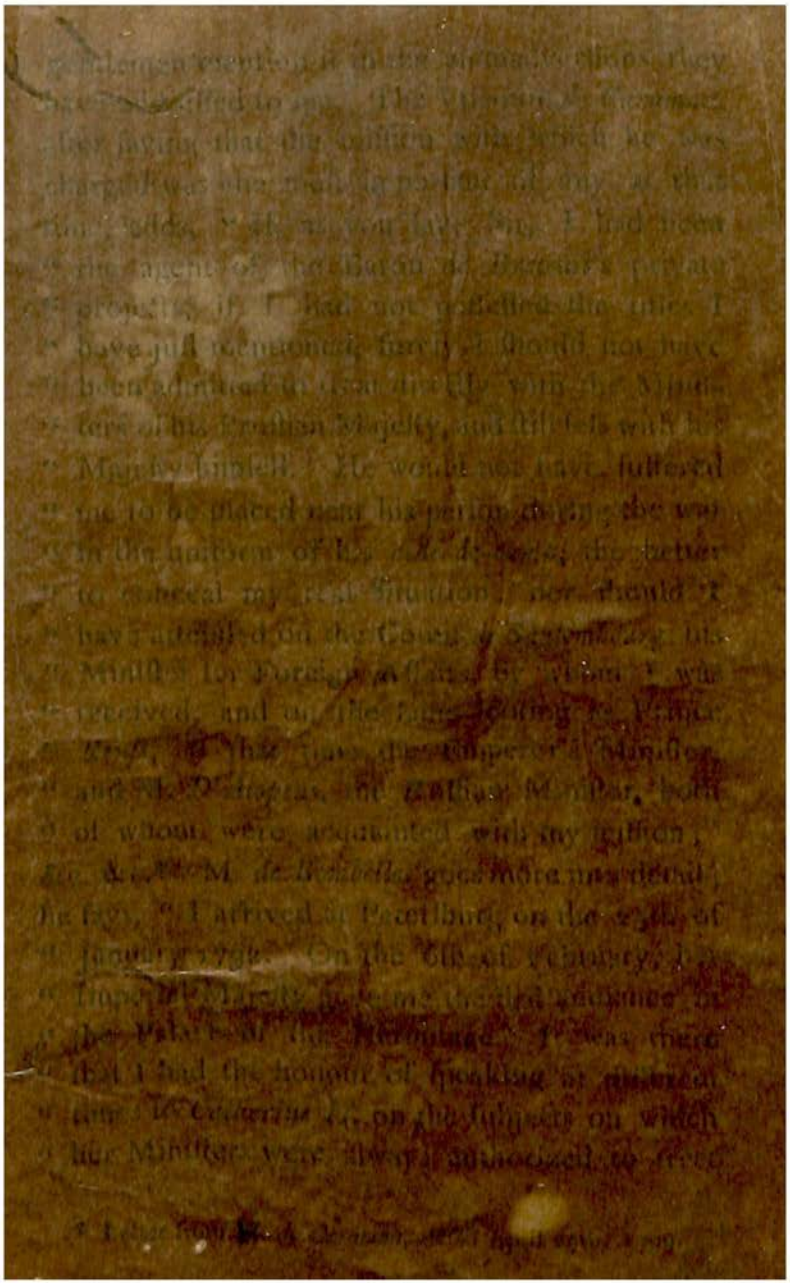
Here ſeveral difficulties occur, none of which could be ſolved, were the date of December 3d given to theſe letters in the authentic copies by the Baron *de Breteuil*, their real date? How is it poſſible to conceive that *Louis* XVI., after having given full powers to MONSIEUR, and immediately after ſending the Baron *de Viomenil* to inform him of his intentions and plans, ſhould, in ſix weeks from that time, have written, *that the Baron* de Bretcuil *was the only perſon acquainted with his Majeſty's plans?* for the Baron *de Breteuil* could no longer take any ſteps without the concurrence of the Princes, and without conſulting them upon every particular, through the intervention of the Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, conſequently the Princes and the Mareſchal *de Caſtries* were as much acquainted as he with the King's plans, and he therefore was not the only perſon in his Majeſty's confidence. As the King at this period had moſt certainly no other plan than that of cauſing the Conſtitution to be faithfully executed, what particulars relative to this plan could the Baron *de Breteuil* have to purſue with the foreign Powers? If, at the period in queſtion, the Baron *de Breteuil* had inſtructions reſpecting the King's plans unknown to the Princes, they muſt have been ſent to him after the Baron *de Viomenil's* return to his Majeſty, and, had he had ſuch inſtructions,

ſtructions, he would not have failed to make uſe of them for his juſtification, in reply to the reproaches which the Mareſchal *de Caſtries* conveyed to him on the part of the Princes, of having, without their concurrence, ſent the Viſcount *de Caraman* to Berlin, and the Baron *de Bombelles* to Peterſburg; he would alſo have adduced the letters of *Louis* XVI. to the King of Pruſſia and Spain, in ſupport of thoſe inſtructions; he would have tranſmitted to the Mareſchal *de Caſtries* authentic copies ſimilar to thoſe which he had given to M. *de Bombelles*. Nevertheleſs, it is evident that in his replies to the Mareſchal *de Caſtries*, he made no mention either of thoſe letters, or of thoſe new inſtructions. He replied haughtily, "It does not follow, from "its being the King's intention, that I ſhould "keep up an intelligence with the Princes, and "that they ſhould concert all their proceedings "with me, that I ſhould therefore concert all "mine with them, and that there could be no "points on which I might receive inſtructions "and orders which were not to be imparted to "them." The Mareſchal *de Caſtries* having obſerved to him, that if his communications with the Princes were not free, and without reſerve, on all points, they might ceaſe entirely, as they could not anſwer the object which their Royal Highneſſes had in view when they conſented to them, he lowered his tone, and gave, as an excuſe for

for ſending M. *de Caraman* and M. *de Bombelles*, that the only object being to deliver the King and Queen's letters to the King of Pruſſia and the Empreſs, it had appeared to him uſeleſs to give the Princes an account of ſo ſimple a commiſſion. The Princes, diſſatisfied with this excuſe, complained to the King by means of a letter addreſſed to Madame *Elizabeth*, and entruſted to M. *de* —— whom their Royal Highneſſes ſent to France on this occaſion. He brought them back an anſwer from that Princeſs, whom the King had deſired to tell them, that he totally diſapproved of the Baron *de Breteuil's* conduct. He had not then given new powers to that Miniſter, nor orders different from thoſe which had been tranſmitted to him by the Baron *de Viomenil*, according to which he could take no ſtep without the concurrence of the Princes: thus, it is clearly impoſſible that, under theſe circumſtances, *Louis* XVI. ſhould have written to the Kings of Spain and Pruſſia, that the Baron *de Breteuil was the only perſon informed of his plans.* The correſpondence between the Princes and their Majeſties muſt have proved the contrary to them, or that the King had ſent the Baron *de Viomenil* to them only to deceive them. We are, therefore, to ſeek in the contents of the letters in queſtion, and not in the Baron *de Breteuil's* authentic copies of them, for their dates, which muſt neceſſarily refer to a period when the King really had plans

of which the Baron *de Breteuil* was alone [illegible] formed, and the particulars of [illegible] managed only by him with the [illegible] Now, the only period at which [illegible] could have had plans known to the Baron *de Breteuil* alone, and the particulars of which only he could manage with the foreign Powers was in the end of the year 1790, for it was then that his Majeſty was intent upon the plan of going to Montmedi, which he had adopted on the ſuggeſtion and by the advice of the Baron *de Breteuil*, and the ſecret of which had been imparted only to the Marquis *de Bouillé*. It is demonſtrated then that the date of the letters written by *Louis* XVI. to the Kings of Spain and Pruſſia muſt be the 3d of December 1790; and if, in the copies of theſe authentic letters by the Baron *de Breteuil*, they were dated December 3d, 1791, it was, no doubt, an *unintentional* miſtake on the part of that Miniſter; for, had it been committed intentionally, for the purpoſe of reviving Powers revoked and annulled by the King, it would have been high treaſon.

The Baron *de Breteuil* committed a miſtake of the ſame kind in his reply to the cenſure conveyed to him by the Mareſchal *de Caſtries* on the part of the Princes, relative to the miſſion he had given to M. *de Caraman* and M. *de Bombelles*. That miſſion was not confined, as he ſaid, to a ſimple delivery of letters: let us ſee how thoſe gentlemen



M. *de Lessart* and me, in a rough and muttering tone of voice: "It was he that led me into that "cursed journey to Varennes." I have since asked M. *de Bouillé* to explain this expression, which did not quite agree with the letter he wrote to the Assembly after the King's return. His answer was, that the letter alluded to had no other view than to effect a diversion favourable to their Majesties, by drawing upon himself alone all the blame and violent censure which that unfortunate attempt had brought upon them. M. *de Bouillé* also furnished me with the documents and information respecting that journey, of which I have already made use.

All these particulars were so entirely unknown in France, that in the month of May following, when the King had determined on sending *Mallet du Pan* to Germany on an important mission, of which I shall give an account in its place, I proposed to his Majesty, to direct him to the Baron *de Breteuil*, who was generally considered as the confidential Minister of the King and Queen, and alone invested with their authority among the foreign Powers. It will be seen by the King's answer, that the Baron *de Breteuil* had no more authority at that period, and that I received orders to send *Mallet du Pan* to the Marechal *de Coserie*. It will be seen likewise, that after the fatal ruth of August 1792, the Baron *de Breteuil's* making use of the powers formerly given to him, as if they had still

[illegible]

existed, or had been renewed, was the cause of MONSIEUR'S, not declaring himself Regent of the Kingdom, though that right had devolved upon him, and had become a duty from the captivity of the King and his family.

Some persons still think that posterior to the raission of *Mailet du Pan*, which took place in the month of May 1792, the Baron *de Breteuil* had received orders from the King, which gave him new powers, or revived the old ones; but the absolute silence which he has always kept on this fact, notwithstanding the necessity he was under to prove it, and, notwithstanding my having defied him in my Private Memoirs, published in the month of March 1797, to show any other powers than those which he received in 1789, no longer allows of such a supposition.

THE [illegible]

PRINTED [illegible] BOOK STREET, LONDON.

00037557

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018